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THE

CHURCH AS ESTABLISHED

IN ITS RELATIONS

WITH

DISSENT.

BY THE

REV. J. CLARK, M.A., PH.D.,

OF THE UNIVERSITIES OF GÖTTINGEN AND LONDON,
SENIOR CURATE OF ROTHERHAM,
DIOCESE OF YORK.

Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω.—*Concilium Nicænum I., can. vi.*

"Porro, religione remotâ, civitatum firmitas intrinseca semper in incerto foret."—*Pufendorf.*

London:
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1866.

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TO

The Right Reverend Father in God

ROBERT,

Lord Bishop of Ripon, D.D.,

THIS VOLUME

IS, BY KIND PERMISSION,

DEDICATED,

IN SINCEREST ESTEEM AND ADMIRATION FOR

His Lordship's

HIGH CHRISTIAN INTEGRITY,

UNSWERVING ADHESION TO EVANGELIC DOCTRINE,

ENLIGHTENED MODERATION, DISTINGUISHED ELOQUENCE,

AND INDEFATIGABLE ZEAL AS A DIOCESAN.

Rotherham,
November, 1866.

PREFACE.

The following pages,—which have been written at the cost of much self-denial in the snatches of time which could be secured in the midst of urgent and harassing parochial duties, will, it is trusted, prove somewhat opportune. Recent events in connexion with the history of the South African church, have made a discussion of the question of Church-and-State very desirable. It is hoped that a judicious treatment of a very delicate and difficult subject, will be found in the sequel; and that some, whose minds have been unsettled, will be confirmed afresh in their attachment to our beloved church as established within these realms. An attempt has also been made to answer the many objections which are constantly being urged by Dissent against the principles of our communion. With what success this has all been accomplished remains for the reader and for the public to determine. One thing, however, is certain,

which is, that exception cannot reasonably be taken to our spirit and method. We have held steadily by our own convictions; but in so doing, we have not needlessly offended those who differ from us. When it is only kept in mind with what acerbity and virulence, attacks have been made upon what we of the Church of England cherish as among our sacredest convictions,—the author can confidently appeal to the reader as to whether he has not brought to his task a desire to deal courteously by his adversaries.

Finally, as in these days the Church of England and Ireland has many most unscrupulous enemies, it is earnestly hoped that the subsequent pages, may prove a stimulus to both clergy and laity. The times are perilous:—perilous to spirituality:—perilous to orthodoxy:—perilous to catholicity. Dogma is become obnoxious. A spurious liberalism is abroad in the land. And unless the Church arouses all her faculties and powers, in the defence of her own sacred and incommunicable attributes and prerogatives —she is destined, as there is too good reason to believe, to drink to the very dregs that cup of humiliation, of which she has but begun to taste the bitterness. May our Lord and Saviour, the Great Head of the Church, avert, however, these painful possibilities, and may He deign to own and sanctify to the good of the Church this our service of faith and labour of love.

ROTHERHAM,
November, 1866.

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Chapter I.

EXTANT THEORIES.

That it is the duty of the governing body to profess and maintain the true religion, is a proposition which may be supported by proofs the most various. Indeed the history of the controversy has actually elicited this variety of treatment.

"The judicious Hooker" has, as it will be remembered, employed a line of argument marked by the idiosyncrasies of his own splendid intellect; but which has perhaps lost something of its original force, in consequence of the changes which, since his day, have passed over English law and English society. In his "Ecclesiastical Polity" it is contended "that the same persons compose the church

and the commonwealth of England generally." "We hold," says Hooker, "that, seeing there is not any man of the Church of England but the same man is also a member of the commonwealth, nor any member of the commonwealth who is not also of the Church of England; therefore, as in a figure triangle, the base doth differ from the sides thereof, and yet one and the self same side is both a base and also a side—a side simply: a base if it chance to be the bottom and underlie the rest; so, albeit, properties and actions of one do cause the name of a commonwealth; qualities and functions of another sort the name of a church, to be given to a multitude, yet one and the self same multitude may in such sort be both. Nay it is so with us, that no one pertaining to the one can be denied also to be of the other."

Hooker's fundamental position—and that upon which his entire theory is constructed, is that of a supposed *identity* of the church with the nation. Such a position, as need hardly be said, is by no means that which the exigencies of the controversy at present demand; nor that upon which any churchman, in the present day, is prepared for a moment to insist.

Taken from the point of view of the law, his theory held good both in logic and in fact, as it does in a very considerable degree even now. Every subject was at that time in the eye of the law a *bona fide* member of the established church, whatever his doctrinal and political antipathies. It was a legal fiction, it is true; but like

many other such fictions of the law, it had all the influence and importance of a *fact.* A fiction, when it is permitted to affect the interpretation of the laws, has a substantial existence.*

* Legal fictions are far from uncommon, and are thus defined by Jeremy Bentham :—"*J'entends par fiction un fact notoirement faux, sur lequel on raisonne comme s'il était vrai.*

a. Le célèbre Coceiji, rédacteur du *Code Frédéric* fournit,"—adds our author,—"un exemple de cette manière de raisonner au sujet de testamens.....'*C'est que l'héritier et le défunt ne sont qu'une même et seule personne, et par conséquent l'héritier doit continuer à jouir du droit de propriété du défunt.*'—*Code Frédéric*, part. II., l. 110, p. 156.

Le raison sérieuse, la raison judiciaire, c'est l'identité du vivant avec le mort."—*Traités de Législation Civile et Pénale, Ed. par M. Et. Dumont*, Vol. I. p. 125, Paris, 1830.

b. The case of attainder furnishes a similar example. For not only is the attainted person subjected himself to forfeiture, but also his natural heir upon the ground of a *fictitious hereditary taint.*

c. That "the King can do no wrong"; that he "is immortal"; that he is *parens patriæ*; and that he is legally *ubiquitous*;—are all *fictions* of the law of the utmost importance in practice.

d. By legal fiction, husband and wife are for many important purposes one person in law. It is only by *fiction* that they can be thus regarded ; and yet important consequences follow upon it :—

1. "By the common law, a man cannot in general grant anything to his wife, or enter into covenant with her ; nor can any action be brought between husband and wife; for the grant, covenant, or suit, would suppose her separate existence."

2. "It is generally true that all compacts between them when single, are avoided by the inter-marriage."

3. Upon the same principle of the identity of person between husband and wife, they are not allowed on trials of any sort to be witnesses for and or against each other."—Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England (Stephen's Edit.) Vol. II. pp. 296, 297, 484, and 543.

This last rule is, however, set aside in certain criminal cases.

From this point of view the argument of Hooker is irrefragable. And it is a question as to how far modern legislation has modified the bearing of the laws upon the case of nonconformity. Thus much is certain, that as long as the government makes provision—as by its connexion with the Church of England it does—for the spiritual wants of all its subjects, it virtually and theoretically ignores any other similar provision. By such act all the labours of Dissent are disallowed. So that even yet the theory of Hooker,—much as it may seem at variance with the actual religious distribution of the people, is, nevertheless, the only theory on the subject, which the spirit of the law and the constitution justifies. In extending toleration to nonconformists the law does not properly recognize them in that character; but rather as *subjects* desiring a larger measure of political freedom. The statutes which inflicted disabilities upon Roman Catholic and other dissidents,—inflicted such disqualifications upon them, not because they were dissenters, but because they were turbulent and disaffected; and the removal of such disabilities—the repeal of such statutes cannot, with any due regard to the spirit of the laws, be taken as any recognition, on the part of the state, of Dissent as such; but rather as an expression of its confidence in the present fitness of such classes of its subjects for the exercise of political functions and privileges.

But although the doctrine set forth in the Ecclesiastical Polity is not to be surrendered as obsolete and valueless, it is nevertheless in no sense necessary to the determination of the present enquiry.

The theory of Bishop Warburton is open to far more serious objection. In that theory, the connexion between the church and the state, is contemplated as—" a political league and alliance, for mutual support and defence." Such "*alliance*" is made to pre-suppose " a free convention and mutual compact," of the contracting parties both of which are regarded, as in their *original* state distinct alike in their characters and objects. The conditions of compact are :

(1.) A free maintainance of the clergy.

(2.) A share in the legislative body.

(3.) The right of *veto* on the part of the state on all ecclesiastical enactments.

The necessity of the union, Warburton traces up to the defect on the part of civil society of moral influences, and religious sanctions—and on the other hand, to a supposed defect on the part of the church of means and appliances adequate to its own preservation and protection. Then again, in the case of their being more than one such ecclesiastical body, the state, says the bishop, is to stipulate with that which is numerically the largest, and which, therefore, may be presumed to be politically the most influential—a principle of selection which would pre-suppose the most sordid and utilitarian views of duty whether in the sphere of politics or of religion.

Indeed to whatever provisions of the theory we turn, objection may be justly taken. Its defects moreover are as culpable as its errors. But *both* were incorporated into it from the political philosophy of Hobbes and of Locke.

The venerable Archdeacon Paley, in his "Moral and Political Philosophy," has concisely considered the question of religious establishments; and although he takes up a position favourable to the principle, he has nevertheless involved much that is incorrect and dangerous, in its discussion. Of course the extreme utilitarianism, which distinguished his ethical system, is imported into his state-church theory. "The authority" he writes, "of a church establishment is founded upon its utility,"—a statement by the way embodying the pagan morality of an Epicurus or an Epictetus—and withal reminding us of the well-known dictum of the last named philosopher—*ὅπου γὰρ τὸ συμφερόν, ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸ εὐσεβές.* But, although his fundamental position was false and untenable, yet the general argument contains much that is suggestive and important. Paley utterly fails of establishing a duty. What he does establish is, the practicability and fitness of church establishments on the general principles of utility.

Coleridge in his work "On the Constitution of the Church and State, according to the Idea of each," divides "the subjects of the state into two orders, the agricultural or possessors of the land; and the mercantile, manufacturing, distributive, and professional bodies, under the common name of citizens." * "The object," adds Coleridge, "of the two former estates of the realm, which conjointly form the state, was to reconcile the interests of permanence with that of progression—law with liberty. The object of

* Church and State, p. 30, (Moxon's Edition.

the National Church, the *third* remaining estate of the realm, was to secure and improve that civilization, without which the nation could be neither permanent nor progressive."* This third estate or "clerisy of the nation" is made to comprehend "the learned of all denominations, the sages and professors of the law and jurisprudence, of medicine and physiology, of music, of military and civil architecture, of the physical sciences with the mathematical, as the common organ of the preceding; in short, all the so-called liberal arts and sciences, the possession and application of which constitute the civilization of a country as well as the theological."

It will be seen at once, that, as Dr. Wardlaw has justly remarked, "this is a *Church* in a sense of the ingenious author's own." As to the Christian Church, Coleridge remarks, that it "is not a kingdom, realm, (*royaume*) or state (*sensu latiori*) of the world.....nor is it an estate of any such realm, kingdom or state, but it is the appointed opposite to them all collectively—the sustaining, correcting, befriending, opposite of the world."† So that at the most, according to the theory of Coleridge, "the Christian Church" supervenes as a mere accident of the so-called "national clerisy."

According to Dr Chalmers the essential element of an established Church is "*a sure legal provision for its ministrations.*" He demonstrates the necessity of establish-

* Ib. p. 52.

† Church and State, pp. 138, 139.

ments, among other things from the insufficiency of the voluntary system—and from the fact that Christianity is the only sure basis of social permanence and progression. He advocates the parochial division of the national territory. He would limit the selection of the government to one given denomination,—and make "evangelical" protestantism the criterion of such selection.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone (Chancellor of the Exchequer) in his learned and eloquent work, entitled "the State in its relations with the Church," has gone into the subject with elaborate and decisive accuracy. The theory laid down is based upon the doctrine of the *personality* of nations. The idea was by no means novel; but perhaps by no other thinker has it been more felicitously and carefully expanded. Hobbes,* and after him, Pufendorf, defined a state as "a compound moral person"—"persona moralis composita,"† and Warburton considered society as "an artificial man"—"a religious, a civil, and a rational animal."

Mr. Gladstone thus enunciates the general doctrine which lies at the foundation of his theory. "In national societies of men generally the governing body should, in its capacity as such, profess and maintain a religion according

* *De Cive*, cap v. § 9.

† Pufendorf very correctly remarks—"Civitas ita constituta ad modum *unius personæ* concipitur, unoque *nomine* ab omnibus particularibus hominibus distinguitur, atque dignoscitur, habetque peculiaria *jura* ac *res* proprias." *De officio*, lib. II, cap. vi, § 10.

to its conscience, both as being composed of individuals who have individual responsibilities to discharge, and individual purposes to fulfil, and as being itself, collectively the seat of a *national personality*, with national responsibilities to discharge, and national purposes to fulfil."* "There is" writes Mr. Gladstone, "a real and not merely supposititious personality of nations, which entails likewise *its own religious responsibilities*. The plainest exposition of national personality is this—that the nation fulfils the great conditions of a person—namely, that it has unity of acting, and unity of suffering; with the difference that what is physically single in the one, is joint, or morally single in the other.....France is a person to us, and we to her. A nation then having a personality lies under the obligation, like the individuals composing its governing body, of sanctifying the acts of that personality by the offices of religion, and thus we have a new and imperative ground for the existence of a state religion."†

Thus much, then, for the theories of the most distinguished writers on this subject. The necessarily brief and cursory notice of them herein recorded, is intended only to indicate generally the course of thought which has been pursued from time to time, in the history of the state-church controversy—and thus to furnish a sort of historical introduction to the arguments and principles which the subsequent pages may unfold. Suffice it to say, that the

* The State in its relations with the Church p. 26.

† Ib. pp. 37, 38, 39.

cause which we essay to advocate has commanded the sympathies of some of the most massive thinkers, and most illustrious and brilliant orators, that have ever shed their lustre in Church or State.

Chapter II.

THE THEORY OF CHURCH AND STATE.

The general doctrine, which we shall here seek to establish is, that the profession and establishment of the purest form of christian doctrine and polity, and none other, is the duty universally of all governments whatsoever.

By the profession of any form of christian faith is meant the legal adoption of its ordinances, articles, formularies, and symbols on the part of the governing body; and by its establishment, the securing to it by pecuniary and other provisions, of a machinery commensurate with the wants of the nation.

Doubtless some may think this a somewhat hazardous position to assume. In an age characterized, in too culpable a degree, by the spirit of vacillancy and concession, it may

appear to some to be too extreme to be defensible. But be that as it may, we cannot forget that the concessions made by past theorists have operated more injuriously upon the interests of "church and state," than the combined strategy of those who have been, overtly and covertly, its most implacable opponents. Nay, moreover, when *truth* is implicated—concession is treachery. The merest seedling of truth is too precious to be lost, since it may unfold the embryon of the most momentous issues.

There is one grand *fact* which underlies the whole fabric of political power, that, namely, of its *derived* character. Civil government is, in no case, autocratic. No kind of political power can exist *per se*. It is by a mere convention of speech that any *imperium* can be called *supreme*. No human authority, whether ecclesiastical or political, is in any true sense of the words, "absolute" or "irresponsible." In the language of the celebrated jurist, Pufendorf,—"*imperium civile a Deo*."

But it may be demanded, is not such a power—theoretically indispensable to a consistent system of social polity? Certainly it *is*. Theoretically, at least, there must reside somewhere in the state a power above all human law—irresponsible and incontrollable, having appellate jurisdiction in the *last* degree. But the theoretical need there is for such a political fiction ought to make the doctrine that it is a fiction appear absolutely indispensable. For were it *fact*, it would be nearly the most dreadful within the entire range of human experience. "There must we are told" be a supreme and sovereign power,—an authority

somewhere vested, and exercised in some specific manner, but in itself absolute and uncontrolled. Governments all agree, and from the nature of the thing must agree in this; *and no form of polity can be conceived which does not include an absolute power in some part of its arrangements.*" "They" writes Cudworth "in whom the sovereign legislative power of every polity is lodged, whether single persons or assemblies; they who make civil laws and can reverse them at pleasure, cannot sin politically or civilly. Nor is this all; but these sovereign legislative powers may be said to be absolute in another sense as being *ανυπεύθυνοι*, or uncensurable by any human court," * And the testimony of all Political Philosophy is, on this point at least, concurrent and uniform. Hence the law ascribes to the King or Queen the attribute of sovereignity—"*Rex est vicarius*," says Bracton, "*et minister Dei, in terra: omnis quidem sub eo est, et ipse sub nullo, nisi tantum sub Deo.*"

But if this is a correct statement of the doctrine of civil sovereignity—if it is true that the supreme power in the state is, to cite the epithet of Aristotle, *ανυπεύθυνον*, or "inadjudicable"—"superior to the laws, human and civil, as such"—"*legibus humanis et civilibus, ut talibus,*

* Intellectual System, vol. iii. pp. 512, 513, Conf. Pufendorfius *De officio Hominis et Civis* lib. II. cap ix. §§ 1.2. Paley, Moral and Political Philosophy, Bk. VI. chap. vi,—"As a series of appeals must be finite, there necessarily exists in every government a power from which the constitution has provided no appeal; and which power, for that reason, may be termed absolute, omnipotent, uncontrollable, arbitrary, despotic, and is alike so in all countries." Blackstone (Stephen's Edition) Commentaries on Laws of England, Vol. II. p. 496.

superior" as the learned Pufendorf has it—and in the words of Bracton "*sub nullo*" subject to no one; then unless the *nisi tantum sub Deo*, were made to qualify the doctrine—necessary as it may seem to a consistent theory of politics—it ought nevertheless to be viewed with abhorrence, as obnoxious and pernicious to the very essence of civil and religious liberty. This is the grand theoretic flaw in all non-theistic systems of political science. It constitutes their radical and inherent defect. That *irresponsibility* anywhere should be a theoretic necessity is the refutation of the theory which involves it. Neither Filmer, nor Salmasius, nor Hobbes, nor Lesley, nor any other of the *jure divino* theorists ever inculcated a principle in itself more inimical to the interests of patriotism, nor one more worthy of the satire and invective of a Marvel, a Butler, or a De Foe.

Not, however, that there is here intended anything like a re-statement of the *jure divino* theory as it was enunciated by the political philosophers of the Tudor and Stuart periods. What is here asserted is that human governments are, in the order of nature subordinate,—that the so-called *supreme power* in any state is *not* supreme—nor irresponsible, but that its existence, its authority, its place, and its power are all alike.....delegated and derived. Not only is it a dogma of theology, but a fact in nature that no human imperium is superior to law. Laws, both civil and ecclesiastical are binding upon the sovereign, because his very sovereignty is reposed in him by a superior power to whom he is held responsible for its conscientious and appropriate use. Blackstone admits that "Kingdoms,

like other human fabrics, are subject to the general and ordinary dispensations of Providence." * But a pagan philosophy got as far as that.† It would be sheer atheism to withhold so timid and scanty a concession. It would be safe to go further and affirm with Grotius that the omniscient Governor exercises not merely a general, but also a special individual and particular providence over the dominions, royalties, and empires of the world. "He putteth down one and setteth up another." Every human imperium has distributively His personal presence and supervision. "His kingdom ruleth over all." And whether the fact is or is not permitted to have its due effect upon the decisions of the so-called sovereign potentates—it notwithstanding remains solemnly and premonitively true that every such potentate stands in personal, special, and individual responsibility to that august and sacred Being who is by incommunicable and everlasting pre-eminence "THE KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS."

"There is no power," writes St. Paul, "but of God" —which is correctly taken by De Wette as an universal affirmation of the divine origin, (*göttlichen ursprungs*) of state authority, to be understood however, as much of the idea of such authority *per se* as of its historical and actual

* Commentaries on the Laws of England, vol. ii. 435.

† "*Sunt philosophi*," writes Cicero, "*et fuerunt, qui* OMNINO NULLAM HABERE CENSERENT REBUM HUMANARUM PROCURATIONEM DEOS. *Quorum si vera est sententia, quæ potest esse pietas? Quæ religio? Quæ sanctitas?*—De Nat. Deor. lib. ii. §2.

evolution during the course of the divine providence.* Here we have stated the true moral derivation of all magistracy—considered purely as a question of civil theology. The historical investigation as to the origin of political society is valueless to the topics herein debated. Whatever the historical facts may be, it still remains a moral fact that all rulers whatsoever are, to cite again the language of St Paul, "the ministers διακονοι of God."

This is the doctrine of the Civil Diaconate. Its duties are delegated. It is a divine and sacred ministry—Its existence and its authority are derived from God. And its derivation is moral and immediate.

It does not arise out of any compacts or combinations effected between man and man. It is not "an ignoble and dastardly brat of fear" † as Hobbes would have it. It is not a human convention—not a creature of the "contrat social" of Rousseau—nor of the mutual compact of Locke. Neither is it a mere creation of "utility," as has been asserted by Paley, Bentham, and others. No compacts or quasi-compacts between man and man—no possible combination of events in the gradual evolution of human history could create or confer powers which pertain to the prero-

* οὐ γάρ ἐστιν κτλ.] "*Denn es ist* (an sich) *keine Obrigkeit als von Gott her*;—Göttlichen ursprungs; allgemeiner Satz, der sich eben sowohl von der Idee der Obrigkeit an sich als von ihrer durch göttliche Fügung, geschehenen factischen Einsetzung verstehen lässt."—Erklarung d. Briefe an die Römer cap. xiii. 1-7.

† R. Cudworth, Intell. Syst. vol. iii., ch. v., § 5, p. 497.

gative of the Almighty. And yet powers of such a kind, are, and *must necessarily* be exercised, universally, by all political sovereignties.

Whenever and wherever, and however civil power has actually been acquired, the *right* to exercise such power, its authorization, is not less really derived from God. Whether the power has been that of a Nero, or an Alfred the Great—whether intolerant, or beneficent, notwithstanding all it has been "ordained of God." *

Indeed it is true that the connection between the general doctrine that God is the supreme governor of the universe, and the particular doctrine that he is the governor of kings, is the same in kind as that between the whole and its parts. The things are in logic and in fact alike inseparable. The truth cannot be obviated. As Daniel the Prophet, himself a statesman of the highest order, has declared, "The Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will."

All civil authority, therefore, is in *an especial* manner, derived from God.

And this appears yet further from the very nature of political duties. This is the true foundation of the "*jus*

* De Wette is again discriminating and clear. ὑπὸ——Θεοῦ κτλ.] "*Sind von Gott verordnet* bestimmte Behauptung des factischen göttlichen Rechtes. Auf die Streitfrage, ob auch eine revolutionäre Regierung, ein usurpator das Göttliche Recht für sich habe, nimmt der Ap. nicht Rücksicht; und in jedem Falle würde er Unterwerfung auch unter eine solche Gewalt fordern."—*Erklarung des Briefe an die Römer von De Wette, p.* 173., *Leipzig,* 1840.

vitæ ac necis"—as the lawyer terms it, or "the power of life and death." It is vain to ground the right upon public utility. For "'*utility*" includes no moral element. Its province is that of advantages and disadvantages—pleasures and pains—profit and loss. The utmost measure of utility cannot make acts obligatory. It is murder to take away human life, whatever the pretext, how much soever the public good might seem to require it, where the authority for such act has not been patented, as it were, by the decree of the omnipotent creator. But such a sanction—such a patent has been issued, in the case of bodies-politic; under given circumstances they have this solemn prerogative; and they exercise it solely in virtue of the special powers derived to them from God in their vicariate capacity.

But the *legislative power* of human governments is equally a fact of special divine derivation. No compacts, —no stress of circumstances,—no principle of political expediency, ever called such a "right" into existence. On the contrary, it is a maxim universally applicable, that *the will of God is the source of all law.* Law-making is a divine prerogative. Man cannot make a law except vicariously. Even were the social contract a fact, there could not arise out of it any legislative authority. Rules might be created, but they would lack the essential element of law; for there is no law where there is no obligation to obedience.* And in order that rules or principles of conduct should become obligatory, they must become a part

* "Obligatio dicitur vinculum juris."

of duty; but duty implies a pre-existent law. Hence the obligation pertains not to the human convention, but to the implied pre-existent divine enactment. The obligatory character of human enactments is due solely to the transfer to civil governments of the legislative faculty; they are invested, within limits, with divine powers. Their enactments are laws in virtue of this vicariat. They are in place of God in all matters political. And hence to this political deity it pertains to enact,—to judge,—to acquit,—or to condemn.

But again, the sanctity of an oath has never ceased to be held necessary to the safety of both public and private interests. It is in fact, indispensable to the validity of every form of judicature. And why? Because it is what it is—an oath! In the words of St. Paul "an oath for confirmation is an end of all strife." It is the last resort against deception and falsehood, and that for the reason that higher sanctions than those of human law are solemnly called into operation. "Men swear by the greater." God is adjured. The sanctions of religion are invoked. "Whatever be the form of an oath," writes Paley, "the signification is the same: it is the calling upon God to witness, *i.e.* to take notice of what we say," and it is "invoking his vengeance or renouncing his favour if what we say be false, or what we promise be not performed."*

* Moral and Political Philosophy, book III. chap. iii, § 16.—The definition of Cicero is—"Sed in jurejurando, non qui metus, sed quæ vis sit, debet intelligi. Est enim *jusjurandum affirmatio religiosa.* Quod autem affirmate, *quasi Deo teste*, promiseris, id tenendum est." De Off., lib. III, c. xxxiii. Pufendorf follows

The oath implies, in every instance, the recognition of a higher power; and the fact is not a little instructive as showing the necessities of human administration,—the wants which, apart from all theories whatsoever, have invariably discovered themselves in the practical exercise of political functions,—and which are not and cannot be satisfied, without the supervention of the notion of a divine *imperium*.

Hence it is, that although against ordinary falsehood, as such, the state has made no legislative provision, it has nevertheless constituted falsehood, when given under an oath, a criminal offence. Against perjury, as is well known, there exist both laws and penalties.

Hence also it is that the state refuses the word of an atheist. The oath of such a person is legally and morally invalid; for how can he swear by a being, whose very existence he does not credit; and whose power therefore he does not dread?*

Then again it is the duty of the state to recognise its theistic through its moral relations—its duties to God through its duties to mankind.

closely upon this: "Est quippe illud (jusjurandum) *assertio religiosa*, qua divinæ misericordiæ renunciamus, aut divinam poenam in nos deposcimus, nisi verum dicamus." De Officio Hominis et Civis lib. I, cap. ix, § 1.

* Frustra quippe jurando quis adigitur per Deum, quem non credit, adeoque nec metuit. Pufendorfius De Off. lib. I. cap. xi. §. 4. Cf. Hobbesius De Cive cap ii. §. 21.

Ethical distinctions, as cannot be denied, are fundamental to the entire theory and practice of legislation. The whole mechanism of political administration—is moral. The mere fact of law-making presupposes the existence of "*rights*"—rights of persons—rights of property—rights in private relations—and rights in public relations; and the correspondent existence of wrongs, *délits* or injuries, either (1) civil, or (2) criminal. But these distinctions—recognised as they are by all judicatories, are not conventional, but *moral*. They imply a pre-existent code. They are distinctions which are founded in the law of God—and as such conduct up to him.

The governing body must of necessity recognise a multitude of moral facts—it must exercise the moral faculty—it *must*, and in a word, *does* recognise the existence of a moral law—a law anterior to all others. And if this is the case—can its duty terminate here? Can it with any consistency or honesty recognise the law, and ignore the law-giver? Can it become the immaculate arbiter of justice (a moral fact) between man and man,—while denying it between itself and God? Can the sovereign power in a state, with any show of reason assume to be the guardian of *human* rights—while ignoring these and other *divine* rights? Certainly not.

The conclusion, therefore, is that the state must as a duty recognise its theistic through its *moral* relations. If it recognises the laws of ethics, it must also recognise the moral *law-giver*. And if it do thus recognise the moral law-giver, it must recognise *God*. It must, therefore, have

theistic beliefs, that is to say, a theological creed. And if the body-politic *must* thus acknowledge the Divine Being, —is it under no *duty* to worship? If it is thus brought, as in every instance is the case, into intimate and immediate relations with the Eternal and Infinite Spirit—is it *possible* that *out* of those relations no obligations of a *religious* nature should in anywise take their origin?

But the same conclusion is arrived at from yet another consideration, namely, that of the vital implication of evangelical doctrines with ethical obligations. This thought has been eloquently and ably insisted upon by the masterly essayist John Foster,* and its relevancy to the present argument is most interesting and important.

Well, then, it is correct to say that by no possibility whatsoever can there be effected a separation between the facts of religion and the obligations of morality.

The qualitative test of conduct must be sought in its motive-history. Here, in the motives, resides the ethical quality of human actions. And it is here that we discover the essential and indissoluble connexion—the natural co-ordination of moral with religious obligations. Unless the analysis of our motives shows them to have been derived from a *religious* source, they are destitute of the first element of goodness. Only motives thus derived can constitute human conduct *right*. Unless this be the motive-history of our conduct, it not only is *not good*, but is on

* Essays.

the contrary offensive and penal. Hence it is that Christianity, considered in its ethical bearings, contemplates the setting up of *evangelical* motives for practical morality. It refers us to religious sentiments and doctrines for grounds of moral action.

A state, therefore, if it has a morality must *ipso facto* have a *religion*, and that for the reason that it is brought into intimate relations with that Being, whom to know is to worship. And indeed, this is the conclusion which follows logically from the derived and delegated character of political power, and from the correspondently *ministerial* subservient, and responsible tenure of such power. For if the King, or other sovereign power in the state, is God's διάκονός, or minister—if as the ruler of men he is the servant of God—and if he is in such an especial manner His servant as that he exercises even an *Elohistic* authority* —then surely it is his *first duty* in such important relations to respect and discharge the *religious* obligations which the relations themselves must call into existence. Government implies both duties towards God and towards the people. But not a few political philosophers have substituted the latter in place of the former. † De Foe, for example,

* Ps. lxxxii, 6.—"I have said ye are Gods," *(elohim)*. "The Civil Sovereign," writes R. Cudworth, *Intell. Syst.* vol. III. chap. v. § 5, "is no Leviathan, no beast, but a God." Bacon also writes—"Kings are mortal gods on earth; unto whom the living God hath lent his own name as a great honour."—*Essays.*

† Cicero adopts the doctrine of the XII. TABLES, "*Salus populi lex suprema.*" De Leg. III. 3. Pufendorf in like manner writes,—"Generalis lex summorum imperantium est haec, *Salus populi* etc.".

thus taught and wrote ;* and it was the doctrine of the XII. Tables, that there was no higher law than the good of the people. Now, the objection to statements of this kind is that they are only half-truths, and require to be held in equilibrium by the other class of truths upon which which we are concerned at present to insist. The state has, as hsa already appeared, duties towards God as well as towards itself.

But relations towards God create *duties* towards God; and what is more, *duties* towards God are all that make up religion κατ' ἐξοχήν. Political relations towards the Supreme Being imply political *duties* towards that being, that is, the existence of *political religion.* For duties towards God are inclusive of all religious practice,—of the whole of christian piety. The immediate office may be secular; but its duties must be discharged *religiously.* Each relation of life ought thus to be sanctified,—much more so those which are attended by the most solemn responsibilities. In such a case, the private piety of the ruler is not enough. For as the

Ea enim intentione in istos imperium est collatum, ut per id procuraretur *finis, ob quem civitates sunt institutæ.*" De Off. lib. III. cap. xi., § 3. Cumberland enunciates the same doctrine, and Jeremy Bentham writes that, "*Le bonheur public* doit être l'objet du législateur; *l'utilité generale* doit être le principe du raisonnement en législation. And again,—L'unique objet du gouvernement doit être *le plus grand bonheur possible de la communauté.*" *Traités de Législation,* Tome I. p. 166. Locke declares that "the public good is the rule and measure of all law making."—On Toleration.

* De Foe wrote a work entitled "Vox Populi Vox Dei" during his imprisonment.

authority derived to him from above is *public*, so the acknowledgment of responsibility must be *public*. There must therefore be an official profession of the Faith, in addition to the private piety. The latter never can be allowed to take the place of the former. The question is simply this—shall the highest political functions—legislative, judicial and executive be discharged *irreligiously*? Shall a state derive its distinctive attributes and powers immediately from God, and yet withal publicly disown (as by silence in matters of religion it *would* disown) all duty towards that august and Supreme Power? Are such solemn funtions to be exercised without any public reference to their divine origin? Must there be no acknowledgment of God—no confession of Faith in Him,—no honour paid to His Name, except that of individual and secluded piety. When God is honoured and glorified by his public and political representatives and vicarii—must it be done—not openly before the world, but clandestinely, as it were, and as if ashamed of day-light?

There are such entities as public opinion, public authority, public conscience, public rights, public wrongs, public utility, and public morality—and why should there not be such an entity as public religion? Why should the highest social functions be exercised *atheistically*? If a man is not restrained by the precepts of morality and religion anywhere else, surely, such restraints are all the more necessary here! And let not such a religion be sneered at as *official*; for *that* is its excellence and glory. Nor let it be urged that there is no piety but that which

is personal and private, and that, therefore, official morality and official religion should be spurned as simulation and hypocrisy. The piety of the individual can never take the place of the piety of the magistrate. Why must Jehovah's supremacy be recognized in private relations and yet be disowned, if not denied in those which are public? The idea is revolting, and worthy only of a Hobbes, a Machiavelli, or a Spinoza; but is utterly repugnant to the primary dictates of the universal conscience of mankind. The practice of nations everywhere shows it to be contra-natural and chimerical, and never until the days of modern illumination have Christian men committed themselves to a theory of political duty—so anile, so contemptible, and so impious. Heretofore, the rule was—"whatsoever ye do (τι ποιεῖτε) do all to the glory of God."* Civil government must therefore be thus administered. And never, until God is glorified by being publicly ignored and disowned, can *public religion* be denied a political existence. Until then, it is the duty of all ruling powers whatsoever, to make its existence practical and influential.

And thus it has been shown from a variety of reasonings, that it is the duty of a state to profess a *religion*.

It follows as a corollary from the preceding principle thus established, that the religion selected should be the purest in form and in doctrine. For the very class of

* 1. Cor. 31.

considerations, which shows it to be the duty of a government to profess a religion at all; decides it to be as peremtorily its duty to profess that which approaches most nearly to the primitive and apostolic model. To select an inferior form of religion when it might as easily have selected a superior both in form and in quality, would argue mental incompetence in the governing body, for the functions and responsibilities of its office. The government that *cannot* select the best religion, or, that *would not* if it could—is both mentally and morally disqualified for dominion.

For a similar reason a government ought not to select two or more forms of religion. For if it have already adopted and professed the best, to select and adopt other forms is to stultify itself—and introduce into its legislation a principle of inconsistency and confusion. If it has already secured the best form of faith and polity—why not limit its selection to it? Why have a worse? If not: if it has not made the wisest selection that might have been made—its duty is equally inevitable. Let it reverse its old decisions, and make new—reverse its *wrong* decisions, as did the Princes of Germany at the period of the Reformation, and make a *right.*

And as to the maintenance of religion throughout the land that is a duty consequent upon profession. What is good for the sovereign is good for the people; and it is the special office of the supreme power in the state, to which the common-weal or public good is entrusted, to see

that that good is by every legitimate means secured. It must, therefore, see that every citizen is supplied with the best means of religious instruction. It must, in a word, *establish* the religion which itself has selected and professed. It must place the same class of privileges within the reach of its subjects which are found so necessary to its own permanence and stability.

And to be adequate the provision must be made commensurate with the wants of the nation. If the provision is not made adequate—an injustice is done to a portion of the population, and the government stands convicted of inequitable and partial legislation.

Chapter III.

PRACTICABILITY AND NECESSITY OF STATE-CHURCHISM.

But not only are the conclusions of the preceding chapter true in theory, but also in *fact*. For no form of civil society can cohere without religion. The religious principle is, as the facts demonstrate, necessary as a factor of political power. Pufendorf declares it to be "the last and strongest vinculum of human society—and that without it the intrinsic stability of states will always be uncertain."* And this is no private sentiment of a few authors or statesmen. It is the tacit confession of all antiquity. All nations have called in the sanction of religion. The want of such sanction has been experienced

* "Ut constet, eam (religionem) revera esse *ultimum et firmissimum humanæ societatis vinculum*.....Porro, *religione remota*. civitatum, firmitas intrinseca semper in incerto foret." *De Off. lib.* I., cap. iv., § 9. Vide the whole of the section.

universally. The want may not in every case, have been fittingly and adequately satisfied. But the want was there nevertheless. That it has discovered itself in every form of state polity, cannot be denied. It is a mere matter of history. The facts demonstrate it; and if as Archdeacon Paley writes—"*what is universal is natural*"—then, the want—the need, thus experienced by all the nations of antiquity, was not accidental or adventitious, but one which had its origin in the arrangements of nature. Indeed this is the *actual* state of things. The defect was inherent in them, as in *all* political constitutions. And thus, again, state-churchism is found to be as natural and necessary on the one hand, as it has been proved to be *moral* and *obligatory* on the other. Hence the primæval and universal practice of the nations. The patriarchal governments blended the two elements—the religious and the political;—as did all the great nations and empires, whether Assyrian, Persian, Median, Egyptian, Grecian, Roman, Gothic, or Keltic. And what is still more remarkable is, that the same phenomenon presents itself in regions the most unconnected and remote. For in Peru, in Mexico, in China, in India, in Thibet, in Japan, and in Polynesia, the governments are as before, politico-religious. The constitution of the church with the state, is in short a practical necessity.

And indeed none have been as ready to acknowledge this truth as atheists themselves, who have industriously represented religion as "*the fiction and imposture of civil sovereigns, crafty law-makers, and designing politicians.*" Cicero informs us that "there were some who declared

the whole belief respecting the gods to have been feigned by wise men for the sake of the commonwealth."* In the lines attributed to Critias the same atheistic opinion is asserted. "Time was when the life of men was disorderly and brutish, when the will of the stronger was the only law; when there was no reward to the good—no penalty to the wicked—after which men instituted civil and penal laws. Thereupon the notion of a god was introduced."... "and thus" he concludes "it was I think, that mortals were *first persuaded* to credit the existence of some sort of deities."† Plato thus records the opinions of these philosophers. *The Gods, they first of all declare to be such, not* by nature, but by art and by the laws only; and hence it comes to pass that these (the gods) are different to

* "Si qui dixerunt *totam de diis immortalibus opinionem fictam esse* ab hominibus sapientibus, reipublicæ causâ."—De Nat. Deor. lib. I. cap. 42.

† Ἦν χρονος, ὅτ' ἦν ἄτακτος ἀνθρωπῶν βίος
Καὶ θηριώδης ἰσχυος θ' ὑπηρέτης.
Ὅτ' οὐδὲν ἄεθλον οὔτε τοῖς ἐσθλοῖσιν ἦν,
Οὔτ' αὖ κόλασμα τοῖς κακοῖς ἐγίνετο
Κἄπειτά μοι δοκοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι νόμους
Θέσθαι κολαστάς.
* * * * * *
Ἐντεῦθεν οὖν τὸ θεῖον εἰσηγήσατο.
* * * * * *
Οὕτω δὲ πρῶτον οἶομαι πεῖσαι τινα
Θνητοὺς νομίζειν δαιμόνων εἶναι γενος

Sextus Empiricus records these as the words of Critias one of the Thirty Tyrants of Athens. But their authorship is *uncertain*. Plutarch and Eusebius refer them to Euripedes.

different peoples; accordingly as the law-makers may have severally determined."* Sextus Empiricus declares yet more expressly how "some have said that the first rulers of mankind.....contrived the supposition of there being gods."†. And Benedict Spinoza in his Tractatus Theologico-Politicus states, that religion was expressly contrived "for the preservation and strengthening of government."

But the *accusation* is really a *concession*. Religion is found to be the principle of cohesion in bodies-politic. Its value as an engine of state—an *arcanum imperii*, is acknowledged. No form of rule has been able to dispense with it. The atheist declares it to have been invented to such an end; but forgets that while he is making an assertion which he cannot substantiate, he is at the same time acknowledging by implication the value and importance of religion as perhaps the strongest vinculum of every form of human society.

So that a politico-religious form of government is found to be requisite as much in fact as in theory. In theory the union of the two elements is a duty, in fact, a necessity.

* Θεοὺς—εἶναι πρῶτόν φασὶν οὗ τοι τέχνῃ, οὗ φύσει, ἀλλά τισι νόμοις, καὶ τούτους ἄλλους, ὅπῃ ἕκαστος συνωμολόγησαν νομοθετούμενοι. De Leg. lib x. p. 666.

† Ἔνιοι τοίνυν ἔφασαν, τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἀνθπωπῶν προστάντας.....ἀναπλάσαι τὴν περί τε τῶν θεῶν ὑπόνοιαν—κ.τ.λ. *Advers. Mathem.* lib. viii. p. 251.

But the same truth may be discovered from other points of view. The duty of the government to provide for the religious wants of the people is included in that *other* duty of *conserving* their highest social interests. "*Salus populi suprema lex est*," was the doctrine of the XII. Tables. But, that the *Salus populi*—the good of the people (*le bonheur public* of Bentham) must include the conservation of the religious well-being of the nation is become almost as much an axiom in politics as in ethics. The good of the state in general, and of the citizens in particular,* supposes and presupposes the mental and religious, not less than the animal and material prosperity of the people.

For religious culture lies at the foundation of all the cultures. It is necessary alike to the permanence and progression of society. Education without it is power without principle. The figment is long since exploded that men need only to be enlightened. For, as is well known, the worst forms of vice and cruelty are compatible with the highest degree of a non-religious civilization. The religious principle is the only force which can hold the other social forces *in equilibrio:* Society would fall asunder without its intervention. Without religion society neither could nor would consist a single hour. Mere *sociality*—considered as a brute instinct, would by itself prove utterly insufficient to hold together the political fabric. For there are dissociating as well as consociating forces ever in operation. And in combination these dis-

* Pufendorf, De Off. lib II., c. 11, § 4.

ruptive, repellent, and segregating powers, are more influential than the mere instinct already alluded to

So that the less the quantity of religious influence in a state, the less is the force of cohesion. Or, to change the figure, religion is the *vis vitæ* of society considered as an organic *growth*. As it is enfeebled,—in an exactly corresponding degree, do dissolution and decay ensue.

Man is naturally inimical to all government. He is impatient of restraint. And, no merely social instincts can constitute any number of men into a body-politic. Hence, then, religion—that principle which alone can curb the incipient savagism of the human heart, must be admitted to be an indispensable element of the public good. And hence the *duty* incumbent upon every governing body of making adequate provision for the religious education of its subjects.

"*The most true and holy doctrines*"—writes the learned Montesquieu, "may be attended with the very worst consequences, when they are not connected with the principles of society." Now there is a great political truth in this observation. It makes it evident that it is not enough merely to place the written documents of the Faith in the hands of the people; unless at the same time the State supplies along with such documents a class of men qualified by their education for the work of their judicious interpretation. Even the doctrines of christianity may be so expounded and explained as to be made subservient of the most revolutionary designs. Indeed this

is nothing more than what history records to have happened during the period of the English Commonwealth. Fanatics like Lockyer, Peters, Calamy or Rutherford, were prepared to bolster up revolutionaries, cut-throats, and regicides with Divinity to match. Then, when red-coats were expositors, and pot-boys turned preachers—there was no incendiarism too merciless, no spoliation too sacrilegious, no injustice too heart-rending, no deed too hideous, no conspiracy too sanguinary to be prefaced by prayer and ended by psalmody. In a word religion was called in to sanction the wildest and fiercest exorbitances.*

* "I wonder," says Featly, "that our door-posts and walls sweat not, upon which such notes as these have been lately affixed: On such a day such a brewer's clerk exerciseth, such a tailor expoundeth, such a waterman teacheth."—FEATLY'S *Dippers Dipt, Pref.* Hall, the presbyterian minister, of King's Norton University, published a work dated 1561, entitled "The Pulpit Guarded," occasioned by a dispute against

Lawrence Williams, a nailor, public teacher;
Thomas Palmer, a baker, preacher;
Thomas Hinde, a plough-wright, etc., etc.,
Henry Oakes, a weaver, etc., etc.,
Hum. Rogers, (lately) a baker's boy, etc.

The following are specimens of the pulpit eloquence of the Puritans and Presbyterians of the time of the Commonwealth. A Scotch preacher thus addressed his Maker:—"To be free with you, Lord, we have done many things for thee that never entered into thy noddle; and yet we are content that thou take all the glory." Another, speaking of malignants, asks "Lord, what wilt thou do with these malignants? I'll tell thee, e'en take them up by the heels, and roast them in the chimney of hell! Lord take the pestle of thy vengeance and the mortar-piece of thy wrath and make the brains of malignants a hodge-podge; but for thy own bairns, Lord, feed them with the prunes and raisins of thy promises, give them the boots of hope, and the spurs of confidence."

If, then, it enters into the duty of the supreme power in the state to secure the safety and stability of the social structure, it is equally its duty to see that the principles of religion, generally, and of christiahity in particular, are interpreted by functionaries under its patronage, in a manner most conducive to that end. Otherwise the commonwealth is insecure.

This illustrious period added to our vocabulary such words as "*savingable*," "*muchness*," "*Christ-Jesusness*." A book was published against bowing at the name of Jesus, entitled "*Jesus-worship Confuted*." Lockyer, one of Cromwell's chaplains, printed a volume of sermons with the following grotesque and blasphemous title—"*Christ sitting up with His Church in her Swooning State*." Lathbury's History of English Episcopacy, chap. xxviii. These were the anarchists of whom the unfortunate King Charles I. wrote while a prisoner in Carisbrook Castle :—

"They raise a war, and christen it the *cause*,
While sacrilegious hands have best applause,
Plunder and murder are the kingdom's laws.

"Tyranny bears the title of taxation,
Revenge and robbery, are reformation,
Oppression gains the name of sequestration.

"Next at the clergy do their furies frown,
Pious episcopacy must go down,
They will destroy the crosier and the crown.

"Churchmen are chained, and schismatics are freed,
Mechanics preach, and holy fathers bleed,
The crown is crucifiëd with the creed.

"The Church of England doth all factions foster,
The pulpit is usurp'd by each imposter,
Extempore excludes the *Pater-noster*.

"The Presbyter and Independent seed
Springs with broad blades. To make religion bleed
Herod and Pontius Pilate are agreed."

The best laws are preventive. That governmental system is imperfect which concerns itself only with offences *ex post facto*. There ought to be a cognizance of prevenient causes and tendencies. The legislature *ought* to provide in order to the prevention as well as the punishment of injuries. And so here. The government is not to wait until the evil consequences have been already effected by a class of sectarian and fanatical interpreters; but must seek in as far as is possible to secure the best results by its own intervention—the results most in accordance at once with the genius of true religion on the one hand, and with the common weal on the other.

"The religion of the Gaurs," remarks Montesquieu, "formerly rendered Persia a flourishing kingdom; it corrected the bad effects of despotic power. The same empire is now destroyed by the Mahometan religion." * Now granting for a moment the accuracy of these statements, it is impossible not to infer the most important principles. It is clear, that, to take no higher ground than that of political expediency, the Persian government, could not possibly be apathetic to the introduction of a mode of religious belief thus utterly subversive of its political existence. And so of every other government under a similar order of circumstances.

The fact is, that legislation is no *laissez faire* business; but on the contrary stands intimately related to a multitude of facts—such as climate, geographical peculiarities,

* *Esprit des Lois*, lib. xxiv., cap. 11.

productivity of the soil, popular temper, and *above all the prevailing religious influences.* Legislation must either adapt itself to these facts, or else become a nullity. The great French legist has established this truth with painstaking assiduity*; but not always with that nice discrimination which so delicate and difficult a subject required and demanded. The ruling power in a state must contemplate these and similar objective facts, religion not excepted, or else abandon altogether the duty of its own self-preservation. And consequently the progress of pernicious heresy—heresy, that is, which is pernicious to the state, calls for some kind of legislative *correction.* How—the *quo modo* is another question. Certain it is, that the relation between religion and the laws—or between the two sets of social forces thus designated, is too intimate and important to escape the attention of any wise and provident legislator. As Montesquieu admits, the provisions of religion have frequently all the *effect* of civil enactments. And on the other hand, the inference is inevitable that when the influence of such religious provisions takes up a direction contrary to that of the laws, such laws become in a corresponding degree, invalid and nugatory.† It cannot be denied, for example, that the tendency of Antinomian, Popish, and Ana-baptist tenets is to make men *bad subjects*—less patient, in a word, of governmental restraint. And thus it was in perfect

* *Esprit des Lois,* lib. xxiv.

† The present state of Ireland, under the influence of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, is an illustration pertinent to the argument.

harmony with the principles of political administration that certain fanatical sects which arose at the disturbed era of the Reformation should be regarded by the then existing governments, with aversion and abhorrence. Indeed it is perfectly in accordance with a well-balanced theory of toleration to hold that there are and may be instances wherein it is for the general good—*pro salute populi* that dangerous religious (irreligious would be the more correct epithet) societies should be coerced by civil disabilities. The Test and Corporation Acts were justified by the exigencies of the time.* And even now the spirit of the laws is against the admission of Jesuits to places of public trust. Even yet, an Atheist cannot sit in Parliament, as such, nor claim the protection of the laws.

Clearly then, a government cannot, consistently with its duty to itself and to the state at large, derelinquish all right to interfere in matters of religion.

Then again, by a religion is intended something more than a system of doctrines and precepts. In order that any set of opinions should gain any degree of currency, there must exist some form of ecclesiastical polity. There must be some social structure which may give to it an external, objective existence. But the form of polity which has come, linked with all the sacred associations of religion, is sure to be that which will, to the detriment of all others, engage our sympathies. Hence a man's

* Compare pp. 3 and 4.

political opinions may be safely inferred from the religion he has chosen to profess.*

On the supposition, then, that in a Protestant country there existed a numerous and influential sect or congeries of sects, whose religious principles were invariably identified with a form of polity inconsistent with that established in the state—is it possible that the government can with any *due* regard for the stability of the commonwealth, refrain from legislative measures calculated, in effect at least, to counterpoise the agency which is operating with such slow but otherwise irresistible fatality? It may not persecute the religions which operate thus injuriously, but it must establish a clerisy of its own,—introduce a new force which shall hold the other *in equilibrio*. If, as it is impossible to deny, it is the duty of the governing body to secure the permanence of the civil polity, over which it is called to preside,—if too it must tolerate sects and ecclesiasticoid communities, the idea and tendency of which are in real although covert antagonism, it must surely be its duty to legislate in view of the facts, which, however it may be effected, is *ipso facto* the *intervention of political authority in matters of religion.*

To modify the laws in view of the facts, as Montesquieu advises, is, to the extent of the alteration effected, a persecution.

* "*On peut même,*" is the sagacious observation of Bentham, "*en certains cas, préjuger les lumières, la force ou la faiblesse d'esprit, et les inclinations d'un individu, d'après la secte à laquelle il appartient.*—*Traités de Législation*, vol. i., p. 77.

One of three lines of policy it *must* pursue. It must either modify the civil law so as to create political disabilities—or create a privileged religious order having its own views and aims—or thirdly, be content to perish. To do the first is to persecute—to do the last is political suicide. What, then? The duty is clear. If it were merely a choice of evils—the lesser is not to be mistaken. It must establish a national clerisy, if it would secure the rights of individuals, in the first instance, by securing liberty of conscience—and if in the next it would secure the rights of the community in general by securing the permanence of the political and social fabric.

Chapter IV.

THE VOLUNTARY SYSTEM.

But here the Dissenter is studious to introduce in extreme antithesis with this political patronage of religion what he is pleased to term the Voluntary principle. Of its adequacy to all the wants alike of the church in itself, and of the church in its aggressive relations with the world, no eulogy has been thought too exorbitant. He has all but identified it with the essence of the Gospel; and is prepared to stigmatize all distrust to it as a want of faith in the inherent energies of Christianity. "The principle of Voluntarism," it is said, "enters essentially into all Christian duties; and whatever interferes with their voluntary character, interferes with all in them that is Christian, and acceptable to God." And it is added—"By every state-religion, then, where there is a dominant sect supported in part by exactions from other sects, what

an amount of unwelcome offering—offering in which the first principle of all acceptable service has been violated, —has been presented to the God of truth!" * It is asserted and maintained that "everything compulsory is opposed to" what Doctor Wardlaw terms "the *genius* of Christianity.

But that such reasoning is fallacious appears upon the very surface. It involves a gross *misapprehension* of what enters into the nature of true Evangelism. It interprets the gospel into a sanction for libertinism. It deprives it of its coercive, canonical, or regulative character. It reduces Christianity to a mere system of speculative opinions —which has no authority to compel belief—and the acceptance or rejection of which is left to the determination of an arbitrary and uncontrolled voluntaryism. Whether in giving or believing it makes man's will the measure of his duty. No, it will be said, not so! Man is not at liberty to give or withhold, to believe or disbelieve, according to his own volitions, only in the sense that he may select, and does select between a right and a wrong. But if this is the voluntaryism, in respect of which such clangor and tumult have been excited, it is a mere chimera! It is just the voluntaryism which all *law*, whether divine or human, sets before the subject, that, namely, of a choice between obedience and disobedience under pains and penalties. The very existence of sanctions implies a liberty of choice,—but a liberty, by the way, in no sense

* Dr. Wardlaw—On National Establishment, p. 238.

incompatible with the most absolute and arbitrary despotism.

M. Jules Simon discriminates more accurately. "There are other differences between religion and philosophy; but the following is the principal. Philosophy aims at truth by the employment of reason; religion believes itself in possession of a body of truth, which it has received from God, and which it imposes upon reason itself. The principle of philosophy is liberty: *the principle of religion is authority*. It is necessary that this authority should be irrefragable, for if its doctrine is open to discussion, it enters afresh into the domain of philosophy;—it appertains to science, and not to faith." * The principle of religion is that of *authority*. It is coercive. It makes laws, It creates sanctions. It imposes limits on liberty. It binds the conscience. It compels conformity of belief. It leaves nothing to voluntaryism, correctly so called. The only willing-hood which it recognises is the willing-hood of obedience. It approves of the "willing mind." But there its voluntaryism ends. Men are not at liberty to be unwilling. Their duty stands prescribed. Do it they *must*,—or else take the solemn sequence of their

* "Il y a d'autres différances entre la religion et la philosophie, mais celle-là est la principale. La philosophie tend à la vérité par l'usage de la raison; la religion se croit en possession d'une vérité qu'elle a reçue de Dieu, et qu'elle *impose à la raison elle-même*. Le principe de la philosophie est la liberté; *le principe de la religion est l'autorité*. Il faut, que cette autorité soit irréfragable, car si le dogme se discute, il rentre dans le domaine de la philosophie; il appartient à la science, et non à la foi."—*La Liberté de Conscience*, p. 106.

wicked and improvident delinquency. All sanctions are *coercive*—not more so when they consist in ephemeral than when in eternal penalties. Nay, these are unutterably more terrific which threaten both body and soul than those which threaten the body only. Such being the case, then, it is far from true as Locke and Wardlaw have asserted, that all coercion is alien from the genius of true religion. And any argument founded upon such an assumption either for the voluntary or against the state-church principle, is therefore invalid and inconsequential.

But a very confident appeal on behalf of voluntaryism has been made to the practice of the Apostolic church. It is declared that the primitive church was entirely left to the development of its own resources. There was no state cotisation for its support. All its finances were created by voluntary liberality. St. Paul, in his First Epistle to Timothy, commands him to "charge them who are rich in this world that they be ready to give and glad to distribute." * To the Corinthian believers he writes—"Let every man do according as he is disposed in his heart, not grudgingly, or of necessity; for God loveth a cheerful giver." † And again to the Galatian church—"Let him that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things." ‡ In a word, the voluntary principle was practised. But this is not *all* the truth. For not only was voluntaryism practised, but also communism. Luke tells us that "all that believed were together, and *had all things common*; and sold their

* 1 Tim. vi., 17. † 2 Cor. ix., 7. ‡ Gal. vi., 6.

possessions and goods, and parted them to all *men*, as every man had need." * And again—"The multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but *they had all things in common*." † And it was in agreement with this practice that Barnabas, the Levite, "having land, sold it, and brought the money, and laid it at the Apostles' feet." ‡ If it is true that voluntaryism was practised by the first Christians, it is also true that *communism* was thus practised. The voluntaryism of that miraculous epoch was not an ordinary voluntaryism. It partook of the extraordinary character of the period. Like everything else in the history of the church in the age of the Apostles its liberality experienced a supernatural, divine impetus. Its preaching was Pentecostal Its liberality, communistic. Its progress, abnormal. Its success, miraculous. Well, then with such a history before us we must draw our precedents with the most studious discrimination. "Facts" in the evolution of church-life as recorded in the New Testament scriptures "are" *not* "of the same authority as precepts." § It cannot be argued that because voluntaryism was the only source of finance to the primitive church—that, therefore, it is the only means of sustentation to which the church has any right to have recourse. It might as logically be inferred that *communism* was universally the duty of all believers.

* Acts ii., 44-45. † Ib. iv., 32. ‡ Ib, iv., 37.

§ Dr. R. Wardlaw—On Nat. Estab., p. 84.

But there is yet another view of the subject. It must ever be remembered that voluntaryism was the only means by which the then church was able to secure its sustentation and expansion. No state was in a sufficiently prepared degree of civilization to admit of any constitutional connexion of it with the Christian church. The nations looked upon the new religion with aversion and distrust. Rome was intolerant: Greece, contemptuous: and Jewry, infatuate. The time then was come of which the Psalmist had prophesied—"Why do the heathen rage and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together against the LORD, and against his anointed."* The Herods and the Pilates were confederate against the Nazarene. The Gospel was "to the Jew a stumbling-block, and to the Greek foolishness." And, therefore, to expect any extraneous political aid to the new religion was to transgress the limits of probability. No alliance of the church with the state was possible in the Apostolic age. It was the period of tribulation and persecution. And the only succours upon which it could calculate were those, which, by the thaumaturgic omnipotence of its Divine Protector it was possible to educe from within its own communion. Hence not merely the voluntaryism, but the absolute self-renunciating communism of its early liberalities, to meet the exigency of the crisis. The church's needs were supplied, and supplied miraculously. The resistance from without was overcome by the supernatural energy from

* Psalm ii., 1-2.

within. But when once the former was removed the latter remained no longer needful. With the altered attitude of the nations there followed an alteration in the conditions of church-life and church-development. When exclusive voluntaryism remained no longer necessary, in the providence of the Redeemer over his church, its exclusive practice thenceforward ceased. And from the age of Constantine until now, no true branch of the Catholic and Apostolic church has ever ceased to derive a portion of its revenues from some co-existing and contemporary state. Exclusive voluntaryism was evidently never intended to be the permanent fiscal provision of the Christian church. It was but a make-shift—a temporary expedient during the epoch in which no other succour was accessible. And even then, its intrinsic inadequacy required to be compensated by a most extraordinary and supernatural efflux of the energies and gifts of God the Holy Ghost. The argument, therefore, from the practice of the Apostolic church is everyway unsatisfactory and inconclusive,

Then moreover it must not be forgotten that the voluntary system practically, if not theoretically exonerates the unwilling. It leaves each to give how and when he pleases, and thus it happens that multitudes give nothing —and multitudes more next to nothing. Even within the pale of the church itself, not a few are to be found whose utmost attestation of gratitude to the Redeemer is that of a scant and niggard parsimony. And the voluntary system provides no remedy. Much as the actual success of voluntaryism may at first sight dazzle the eye,—it is

nevertheless far from what it ought to be. The profuse generosity of the few falls immeasurably short of effecting anything like a compensation for the voluntary illiberality of the many. For there are but few who realize the full extent of their religious responsibilities,—and even of that few all are not faithful and conscientious in their discharge. But a system which makes it necessary that a few shall tax themselves in order to supply the wants of the many is inadequate, if not iniquitous. And a system which, while it accepts the donations of a willing minority, exonerates practically if not theoretically, the vast majority of the population, carries upon its very front the stigma of its own demerit. If voluntaryism is inevitable, as it was in the case of the apostolic communion, it is justifiable; but, where a more equal distribution of the burden is possible, —where it is possible to make, within given limits, willing and unwilling, alike in their contributions towards the cause of Christ, and through it to the common good, the exclusive adoption of the voluntary principle is a sacrilege *in prospectu* upon the exchequer of the church. It is to alienate to a serious amount the finances which must have accrued to the treasury of the temple, by making it optional in the giver to withhold, what under a provision not less just, it might have been possible to have enforced under the coercion of established laws. Men are but children of larger growth. And if, in so important a matter to the common weal as the progress and prosperity of the church, they will not do their duty willingly—they must not, therefore, be exonerated, but *made* to do it, even though unwillingly. And there is not in any respect

a less oppressive mode of securing this desirable result than by the appropriation of a portion of the public funds to the purposes of religion and of the Church.

Then again, it follows as a logical sequence from the fact as stated above, that the ministers of the gospel, whose sustentation depends upon voluntary contributions, as a rule gain at the best but a scanty and precarious livelihood. As the voluntary system exonerates the unwilling–the interests of the church are damnified. Its ministers especially are sufferers. They are either left to unite a secular with a sacred calling, or else are hampered, and harassed with a multitude of cares which effectually prejudice their pastoral usefulness. Luther was most decidedly against the exclusive adoption of the free-trade principle in religion. Referring to the appropriation for protestant purposes of the immense revenues accumulated during the papal ascendancy, he writes :—"Nisi superesset spolium Ægypti, quod rapuimus papæ, omnibus ministris verbi fame pereundum esset ; *quod si sustentandi essent de contributione populi misere profecto ac duriter viverent.* Alimur, ergo, de spoliis Ægypti collectis sub papatu."

But, Dr. Angus takes a more hopeful view of these difficulties. In his "Bicentenary Prize Essay" he thus reasons:— "This work of blended authority and service is necessarily an office of great anxiety and self-denial. It has been said of those who fill it that 'they live to please' and they must therefore 'please to live'; nor unfrequently have appeals been made to the favoured condition of clergymen of established churches as evidence of a sounder ecclesiastical organization. *But to us the trials of the Christian ministry*

are among the proofs of the soundness of our system."* All that we are concerned to say to such reasoning is, that if "the trials of the Christian ministry," which, as is well known, are not few among Voluntaryists and Dissidents, are among "the *proofs*" of the apostolicity of their system, they are welcome to them! A sect which can draw its credentials from the worst abuses—and can trace the evidences of its New Testament purity in what are the most scandalous and offensive developments of its peculiar organization, is in no danger of being reasoned out of its illusive and treacherous self-complacency.

That the evil is endemic to voluntaryism is only too indisputable. It has little short of an omnipresent existence in all congregationalist communions.†

* Christian Churches, § III. 43. The *italics* are ours. Cf. Ib. § III., 61.

† Hear their own testimony! "Ministers when they settle down in towns, neighbourhoods, and villages, are frequently single men, and they can manage to maintain a tolerably respectable appearance while they remain in a state of *single blessedness*: but they often form the most egregious and erroneous ideas of the expenses of a family; hence, after a few years, they get greatly embarrassed with children springing up around them; claims increasing, and means diminishing, *they are put to their wits' end to know what to do.* The expenses of a domestic establishment, the purchase of books, the urgent necessities of many of their poorer hearers, sickness in their households, contributions to national or parochial (local) societies, and various other causes, completely exhaust *their trifling and limited incomes.* And here let it be observed, that some hearers of the gospel seem to have no correct views of their duty towards their ministers. They forget that the labourer is worthy of his hire, that he who ministers in spiritual things has a claim upon

But not to dwell at greater length upon this and other evils inherent in the voluntary system, we proceed to remark upon the false contrast which is usually drawn between the principle of voluntaryism on the one hand, and the principle of establishments upon the other.

Now the supposed contrariety between the two principles in question has no real existence. Voluntaryism is compatible with a state-church practice. There exists no incongruity between the two sets of facts. The amount to which the members of our National Church contribute, it is next to impossible accurately to determine. But proximate numbers may be obtained. It appears according to the statistics of Dr. Baird, that "the receipts" of

3 Bible Societies,
1 Tract Society.
9 Home Missionary Societies.
4 Sunday School Societies.
3 Educational Societies.
14 Missionary Societies.

34

or in all of 34 societies in the United States of America,

their carnal things. They willingly defray the expense of their medical attendant, they cheerfully pay the lawyer for his legal advice, and some who profess to value the gospel can wantonly assume the most meretricious adornments, and yet withhold, or give reluctantly, a fraction to sustain or support the messenger of mercy. *It is lamentable to see and know what difficulties, privations, and trials some good men have to pass through in consequence of their slender pecuniary resources. Many a knight of the awl and the*

amounted in 1850, to 2,148,878 dollars, 64 cents, or £429,775, and among the contributors of this sum were (1) Episcopalians,—and (2) Congregationalists, Old School Presbyterians, New School Presbyterians, Northern Methodists, Southern Methodists, Episcopal Methodists, Free-will Baptists, "Regular" Baptists, Sabbatarian Baptists, Lutherans, Quakers, Tunkers, "*et hoc genus omne.*"*

Now if the Episcopalian contributions to this sum were deducted, it would of course be very considerably diminished. But, include them, and then compare such a total coming, as it does, from a population of 23,250,000, scattered over the whole of the states of the vast American republic, with the voluntaryism of our own glorious and puissant church as seen from the annual receipts of only 17 out of its numerous national, diocesan, archidiaconal, ruridecanal, and parochial institutions. In 1862-3 the receipts of only 17 distinctively Church of England societies amounted to no less a sum than £497,144 13s. 1d., —a sum which exceeds by £67,369 13s. 1d., that contributed to double the number of societies by the whole body

needle can boast of a greater income, and participate more of the luxuries and conveniences of life, than many a holy and faithful minister of Jesus Christ."—Vide Evangelical Magazine, August, 1843, p. 385. And another correspondent of the same periodical speaks of "*the scandalous manner in which not a few professing people forget their solemn pledge of maintaining their pastors up to a stipulated point,*"—and adds, "I am not a sufferer, *but not a few groan and weep in spirit!*"

* Dr. Baird, Progress and Prospects of Religion in the United States of America. pp. 24, 25.

of evangelical and quasi-evangelical religionists in the whole of the United States. And this half-a-million of money yearly, is far from an adequate representation of what the church established in this realm, is doing towards the support of Missionary, Educational, and other *religious* institutions. It is exclusive of the large annual contributions which the church sends up to the Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society—and other valuable societies not distinctively and exclusively under "*Anglican*" auspices. Then again, no account is here taken of immense sums raised by voluntary subscription for Church-building and endowment, increase of church-accommodation, purchase of buildings converted into churches,* parsonage-houses, parochial schools, school-masters' houses, and other similar purposes. *For, for the last* 39 *years, the clergy*

* The Church of Ireland, for example, has during the last *thirty* years made considerable progress in church-building, and enlargement. During that period it has added

New Incumbencies	133
New Churches	306
Churches enlarged .	171

although for the thirty years the church has been *deprived* (*not endowed*) of ecclesiastical revenues to the amount of upwards of £200,000 per annum. In Western Connaught alone during a shorter period (the last 25 years) the clergy have increased from 11 to 35, and the number of churches from 7 to 27. Rev. W. C. Plunket—*Church Congress, Manchester.*

"Since the Union in 1800 there have been built in Ireland

New Churches	944
While there have been enlarged	224
Total erected and enlarged	1,168

Indeed to cite the words of the Rev. Alfred Lee—(Vide Paper, read at the Manchester Church Congress, 1863)—"The Irish Church owes much of her Parochial endowments and her episcopal revenues to the pious bequests of her prelates since the Reformation.

of the Church of England have not received a fraction from the public funds, nor a single vote of money towards the erection of any of its ecclesiastical edifices. And yet, church extension has gone on at a rapid rate during that very period. The exact amount of voluntary expenditure it is next to impossible correctly to estimate. But take for example the case of one of the 17 societies, and it will be found that it has made grants during the last forty-five years—to the amount of £712,143, which, however, have been met on the part of churchmen by a voluntary expenditure of not less than £4,937,847,—making a total sterling, voluntarily contributed in one department only, of upwards of FIVE MILLIONS-AND-A-HALF.

Or take an illustration from the very flourishing and important diocese of Ripon. During the eminently successful twenty years episcopate of the now most reverend Archbishop Longley, there were consecrated no fewer than 137 churches, being at the rate of 6 per annum, while during the not less successful episcopate of the right rev. the present lord bishop, between 40 and 50 more have been added to the number. So that "in the space of 27 years, the number of churches under the supervision of the Bishop of Ripon *has increased nearly* 50 *per cent*!" Since 1838 the Ripon Diocesan Church Building Society has made grants to the amount £83,612

Primate Boulter left £30,000 for the augmentation of small livings, and for the purchase of glebes. Archbishop Bramhall almost re-established the church in Ireland; and the late Primate, Lord G. E. Beresford, *in addition to re-building his cathedral, at an expense of* £30,000 *from his private fortune*, gave £2,000 a-year to the support of poor clergy in his diocese."—Vide *Report of the Church Congress, in Manchester*, 1863.

12s. 2d., which have been met by a further expenditure voluntarily made on the part of the public of not less than £342,790 7s. 10d., making a total of £426,403. Take note, moreover, of what is being done in Bradford alone.*

* Since this was written, another magnificent example of local Church voluntaryism has been marshalled on to a most gratifying and triumphant issue by his Lordship the Right Rev. the Bishop of Ripon. As early as April, 1864, his Lordship in his Triennial Charge, delivered to the clergy of the diocese in that month, more or less prepared us for what was coming. After speaking of the Bradford Church-Extension movement and its results—his Lordship adds :—"I am not without hope that a similar movement will shortly be inaugurated in the still more important town of Leeds. In the course of November last, acting upon representations made to me by the clergy of that town, I felt it my duty to address a circular letter, for the purpose of calling public attention to the inadequacy of church accommodation in Leeds. During the ten years which elapsed between the census of 1851 and that of 1861, the population of Leeds underwent an increase of 35,000 souls. Little or nothing was done, during that interval, to extend church accommodation. The appeal has been responded to with great liberality, and I trust that within a short period a practical scheme will be fairly organized on a scale somewhat commensurate with the existing necessity."—And how after so able and influential an initiative, what was the result? The following extract from the *Leeds Intelligencer* of the 12th November, of the same year (1864) will abundantly show. In a leader the editor says :—"If any have entertained doubts that the subscription of the LEEDS CHURCH EXTENSION FUND of £50,000, would be completed within the assigned limit of *six months* those doubts are now happily set at rest. *The amount has even been exceeded by £3,327 besides a further sum of £424 offered for kindred purposes, but outside the objects contemplated on the institution of the fund.* Yet the names upon the subscription list are *not more in number than six hundred.*" Here are deeds done quietly—with none of that Barnum bluster, to which if we may believe the Rev. Baldwin Brown, Dissenters have the vicious propensity to have recourse. Here is an instance of magnificent voluntaryism on the part of a state-church, and a state-church which dissenters are much too ready to abuse and

In 1860, the "Bradford Church Building Society" was established, when it was proposed to erect *ten new* churches. Now, what is the *voluntaryism* which such an effort has evoked? Let the *facts* answer. "*Five* have already (1864) been completed and consecrated, having districts assigned to them with an aggregate population of about 24,000. Another, All Saints, is in the course of erection at *the sole cost of F. S. Powell, Esq., M.P.*" The *seventh*, Holy Trinity, has been commenced. *Sites* have been given by E. B. Wheatley Balme, Esq., for St. Stephen's, and by F. S. Powell, Esq., M.P., for St. Thomas's, and special donations to special churches." And exclusive of these items between £14,000 and £15,000 has already been subscribed. Then further to meet grants from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, (not *parliamentary* grants!) to the amount of £14,809 towards the augmentation of the Endowments of 26 poor benefices in the same diocese, there has been raised since 1857 by *voluntary* effort no less a sum than £18,167. In fact the voluntaryism of the church is evident at every turn of the enquiry. Take the grants of the Pastoral Aid Society—grants originating in the first instance in voluntary munificence, and they will be

vilify. These are the deeds of a Church, which, the late Rev. John Angell James says:—"*Withers the energies of benevolence and restrains the efforts of beneficence!*" All we have to say is that Dissent would like such a "*withering.*" We can point out with pride to Bradford, Leeds, and other portions of the Diocese of Ripon, and in other dioceses, to Sheffield, Gateshead, Birmingham, and London,—and can say to each of those factious, self-divided, clamorous, Dissenters who are so apt at the abuse, traduction, and calumniation of the Church of England.—"Go thou, and do likewise."

found to have been met in many cases by not less munificent local contributions. The same is also true of the grants from the Additional Curates' Aid Society. In 1862 this society made grants in the Ripon Diocese alone to the sum of £3,120 ; which sum was met, however, by contributions "raised locally" amounting to £1,263. And in addition to multitudinous other details of voluntary giving, parochial, and charitable, of which the statistician can take no cognizance, the Diocese sends up *annually* to different societies between £15,000 and £20,000.*

* In the charge of his Lordship the Bishop of Ripon,—certain important statistics extending over a period of three years, from December, 1860, to December, 1863, have been furnished, which accordingly we shall here subjoin :—

Erection of Parsonage Houses.—"The number of parsonage houses to these 422 benefices is 345, of these 17 have been erected during the last three years at an aggregate cost of £24,245 12s. 8d. This sum has been raised by local contributions, assisted by grants from our Diocesan Socety, from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty."--TRIENNIAL CHARGE, pp. 7, 8.

Baptisms.—"The whole number of Baptisms during the last three years has been 70,012 giving an annual rate of 23,337⅓ to a population it should be remembered of 1,167,288. This number is far below that which the population of the diocese might lead us to expect. Although it shows a higher average as compared with previous returns." p. 11.

Confirmations.—"During the three years, which ended with December last, I was permitted by the providence of God, to hold 90 Confirmations as against 77 in three previous years ; the numbers confirmed were 4,801 males, and 7,987 females, making in the aggregate 12,788 as against 11,702 in the former cycle of three years."—p. 11.

Education.—"I find that upon the roll of the scholars belong-

And this it must be remembered is only part of the actual voluntaryism of *one* of the thirty-six dioceses in England, Ireland and Wales. Indeed, so far is it from

ing to the Church Schools, there are in the Daily Schools, 34,551 boys, and 27,542 girls, in addition to 12,319 infants, making an aggregate of 74,412 scholars, receiving instruction in connexion with the Church. In addition to these in as many as 104 parishes, there are adult schools in which the clergymen take an active part. These schools number 3,929 males, and 2,077 females. Nor must the Sunday schools be omitted from this enumeration, although I take it for granted that the scholars which they contain belong for the most part to the daily schools as well. In the Sunday schools there are 33,046 males, and 36,098 females. Omitting the number of scholars in Sunday schools, it therefore appears that there are 80,418 scholars belonging to the Church schools in this diocese, or about 7 per cent. of the whole population. These figures at all events evidence that the Church is taking an active part in the work of education."—pp. 15, 16.

Church Building, etc.—In the same period I have consecrated 18 new churches. Of these, 4 are churches rebuilt and enlarged." pp. 17,18. "Meanwhile, the work of Church-building and church-restoration is being vigorously prosecuted in other parts of the diocese, (*i.e.* than Bradford and Leeds). Ten new churches are rapidly approaching completion ; in seventeen other cases works of extensive restoration are being carried out ; five out of the seventeen involving an entire rebuilding of the sacred edifice."—pp. 20, 21.

Contributions to Home and Foreign Missions.—"The diocese has contributed to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts during the past three years, the sum of £8,849 19s. 8d; to the Church Missionary Society, during the same period, the sum of £12,305 19s. 1d. ; to the Colonial and Continental Church Society, in the same period, £840 10s. 11d. ; to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, in the same period, £1,005 9s. 5d. ; to the Church Pastoral Aid Society, the sum of £5,240 5s. 8d. ; and to the Additional Curates' Aid Society, the sum of £3,628 1s. 3d."—pp. 27, 28. This will be found to make a total for not more than *Six* Societies of £31,870 6s. 0d., voluntarily contributed during three years terminating in December 1863.

correct that the principle of establishments is incompatible with the practice of voluntary liberality that the very reverse seems to be nearer the truth. Where there has been the least of bluster and glorification, there, it would seem, there has been the most steady adherence to the practice of voluntaryism. Professed voluntaries have done less in proportion than the members of that very church-establishment which they have been so ready to execrate and denounce. While dissenters have been screaming up the voluntary system, the Church of England, with her usual reticence and dignity, has been quietly showing them how it may be actualized. Whether for the cause of the Redeemer in our own or in foreign lands, the dear old Church of England has displayed a truly magnificent liberality. Dr. Abel Stevens, in his History of Methodism, states that "in fifty-seven years, from 1803 to 1859 Wesleyan Methodism has contributed no less than, £3,469,832 or 17,349,160 dollars for foreign evangelization." He then makes an admission to the honour of the English Church.—"In England he writes, 'the Church Missionary Society' *alone exceeds it in annual collections* for the foreign field."* And the able author might have added that the "Church Missionary Society" was only one of *several* distinctively Church-of-England societies having for its object the promotion of evangelization in foreign parts. Beside the annual contributions of the Society already named, which "alone" exceeds that of any other Missionary Society in Great Britain, according to the testimony of an American and a Dissenter, the

* History of Methodism by Abel Stevens, LL.D. Vol. II. p. 490.

church contributes to other distinctively "Missionary" societies under her own auspices, between £150,000 and £200,000, annually. The receipts of 4 such societies for 1863,—the Church Missionary Society not being included in the number, amounted to no less a sum than £178,356 5s. 2d.

In fact, in 1863, the Established Church contributed voluntarily towards exclusively "Missionary" enterprizes, the splendid sum of £307,397 2s. 8d., being an excess over a *quarter of a million* of not less than £57,309 2s.8d. And this is the church which is decried, execrated, blackened, calumniated, and vilified as a "system" which "*withers the energies of benevolence, and restrains the efforts of beneficence, by dispensing in many religious matters, with the obligations to individual and voluntary contribution.*" *

But now let us look at another phase of the question. Although the voluntary principle is valuable as a subsidiary help—churchmen repudiate, and justly so, its sole and exclusive adoption. They thus repudiate it not merely because its exclusive adoption tends to make religion a matter of merchandize, but also because they are thoroughly convinced of its intrinsic inadequacy even to the ordinary necessities of the church.

Glance, for a moment, at the facts as they are involved in the working of a pure and unmixed voluntaryism, and it will be seen that they are the irrefragable demon-

* J. A. James, Principles of Dissent, p. 26.

stration of its futility. It is utterly and wretchedly unequal to the support of the church's peculiar mission.

The most clamorous voluntaries in this country are the so-called "Congregationalists"—a name which must be understood to include Independents, Baptists, and Wesleyan "Reformers." Now, what are these sectarian denominations actually accomplishing towards the grand work of Domestic and Foreign Missions? Take the Congregationalists of the first class, which is, in many respects, the most numerous and influential,—the denomination which boasts of its Miall, its Baines, its Mills, and its Hadfield. Let us attempt an approximation. We take into the estimate of course, only those institutions of a missionary kind which are understood to be exclusively "Congregational", with one important exception, that, namely of the "London Missionary Society." That society although not *denominational* in its character, receives the whole of the support of the Independents, or Congregationalists proper. It is not to be supposed, however, that the whole of the annual "receipts" of that society have been raised by the sect in question. On the contrary the society receives contributions from evangelical christians, whether conformist, or non-conformist.

But not to strain this point, let the whole of the receipts of the society be accredited to Independency, and the following tabular statement will help to an approximate estimate of their efforts.

	Foreign Missions.	*Annual Receipts.* 1862-63. £.	s.	d.
1	London Missionary Society ...	81,924	13	8
2	Colonial Missionary Society ...	4,161	3	8
	Home Missions.			
1	Irish Evangelical & Congregational Home Missions	3,807	3	5
2	London Congregational Association	921	6	0
3	Home Missionary Society	9,061	7	1
4	County Home Mission Associations.....	11,138	18	9½
6	TOTAL...	111,014	12	7½

Here, then, the total expenditure for both Home and Foreign Missions of Congregationalism, as ascertained from the returns above stated, *in*clusive of *local* Home Mission effort, is found not to exceed £111,014 12s. 7½d.*

* That this calculation is correct, and will be accepted by our opponents, the Congregationalists themselves, appears from an estimate contained in a *Paper* read by the REV. THOMAS MANN, at the Autumnal Meeting of the Congregational Union, held in Liverpool, October 15th, 1863. In that paper, vide APPENDIX to *Congregational Year Book*, p. 12, its author makes the following observations :—"*The large amount expended in gospel missions at home and abroad* (both classes of missions are evidently included) *shows how large the capabilities of our Churches are. More than* £100.000 *a year is raised by our Churches for this object.*"

But the annual "receipts" of the Church Missionary Society *alone*, for the same year amounted to £129,040 17s. 6d., which exceeds the above sum total, by not less than £18,028 4s. 10½d. And this is but *one* of the *several* societies which churchmen have established and supported for *exclusively foreign missions*. The £118,138 raised by Congregationalists is for missions *both* foreign and domestic. But not so in the case of the Church of England. In the very same year the members of the Establishment raised by voluntary effort *for foreign missions alone* not less than £252,138 17s. 4d., being *over a quarter of a million sterling ! !* *

But let us look next at the denominational position of the voluntaries. Two sectarian communities,—the Congregationalists and Baptists—may be fairly taken to represent the actual power of pure evangelical voluntaryism as at present existing in this country. Neither Wesleyans, nor Presbyterians, nor Roman Catholics are voluntaries proper. They take the Regium Donum ;—they receive government grants for educational purposes. Well, then, what is the *status* of these two most influential sections? What are they really accomplishing?

Take the number of their churches in England and Wales as compared with the population, and, it will be

* These are the annual receipts of *three* distinctively church societies. The sum is *altogether exclusive* of the contributions of churchmen to GENERAL societies, as the "London Missionary Society," "Turkish Missions Aid Society," "British Society to the Jews," and many others.

seen, that their efforts are at the most but as "the dust in the balance." The numbers, in 1863-4, were for:—

	Churches.
Congregationalists	2,505
Baptists "of all kinds"	1,270
Making a total of	3,775

And of the number set down to Congregationalists there were in the same year,

	"*Vacant.*"
In England and Wales.....	234

that is to say, 234 churches without pastors to care for their souls, leaving the number of churches *with* pastors not more than 3,541. And this calculation goes upon the assumption, which is false, that *all* such churches in England and Wales usually have over them presiding pastors. Take again the number of their ministers. In the same year, 1863-4, there were in England and Wales:—

Congregationalist Ministers	2,099
Baptist Do.	1,888
Making a total of	3,987

And of the numbers set down to Congregationalism, there were not fewer than 422 ministers *without charge*. But

these figures are more significant than at first view might appear. It has been shown that at the very outside there are not for the *two* denominations more than 3,541 *churches* WITH *pastors*. But there cannot be even so many. An inspection of the figures will show that for 1,270 churches of the Baptist persuasion there are 1,888 ministers, being an excess of ministers over existing churches of 618! These, it may fairly be presumed, therefore, are without pastoral occupation. For how can he be a pastor who has no flock! Add, then 618 to 442, and the total will be found to be 1,060, being the number of Congregational and Baptist ministers in England and Wales, who are without pastoral charge. Subtract from the

Total number of Congregational and Baptist Preachers in England and Wales, being	3,987
The number without charge	1,060
And the remainder is.....	2,927

Now, this 2,927 represents the actual and total number of *active* pastors for both sects in the whole of England and Wales. But the total number of Churches is, as we have seen 3,775. Now, $3,775 - 2,927 = 848$, or the real number of churches *without* pastors; which number, subtracted in turn from 3,775, makes the number of churches *with* pastors, and the number of pastors *with* charges equal. The total number of churches *with* pastors for England and Wales of both denominations is no more than 2,927! Here, then, is the true measure of the success of *Two* of

the most influential sects of voluntaries which this country has ever produced. Only 2,927 working pastors! Only 2,927 centres of vitality! Only 2,927 companies of the faithful, which enjoy a regular and stated ministry! Only 2,927 working preachers for a colossal population of not less than 20,207,671 !!! Or, suppose that every "Reverend" among them was actually engaged in pastoral duties,—suppose that every Independent and Baptist minister not in England and Wales merely, but in *the whole of Great Britain*, was, what he professes to be, a *bonâ fide* pastor, having a church under his care and supervision, even then the *two denominations taken together* can only number 4,245 such pastors, many of whom like the "Rev." Edward Miall, are practically lost to the work of the ministry, for a total population of 29,299,274 ! ! Look again at what voluntaryism is doing in Ireland! The condition of that beautiful country is one calculated to evoke the sympathies of every enlightened Christian philanthropist. What are the Voluntaries doing there? In that country there are only 28 Congregational Churches, and 30 Congregational ministers, 5 of whom are without any pastoral charge. In the same country the total number of Baptist ministers is only 24, probably an excess over the number of churches of $\frac{1}{6}$ of the whole. But suppose there are as many churches as there are ministers, and the *totals* for *both denominations* are 54 ministers, 49 of whom only are active, and 52 churches. And this is all that two such contentious and clamorous sects have done towards the evangelization of 5,792,055 immortal souls in a country as near home as that of the "sister isle"—a country whose spiritual con-

dition is little in advance of that of Spain or Russia.* And this is not all. Out of the 28 Congregational churches in Ireland, 19 situated in localities with an aggregate population of 235,240, numbered in 1861, only

	Minister		Population.
* Ratio of Baptist Ministers to the Population of Ireland.....	1	=	241,335·63
Or, ...	1	=	241,336
Ratio of Congregational Ministers to the Population of Ireland ...	1	=	198,068·5
Ratio of Congregational Ministers to the Population of the Isle of Man	1	=	143,779
Ratio of Congregational Ministers to the Population of Scotland...	1	=	30,922·5
Or, ...	1	=	30,922½

And these ratios are constructed upon the supposition that *every* such minister, whether Congregationalist or Baptist, *is actually and regularly engaged in pastoral work*, whereas out of 99 Congregational Ministers in Scotland, 14 are not so engaged, leaving but 85 to a population of 3,061,329 ! ! Out of 4 Congregational Ministers in Guernsey, *one*, or ¼th of the total number is without pastoral charge leaving but 3 to a population of 36,362 ! Out of 6 in Jersey, 2 have no charge, leaving but 4 ministers to a population of 56,078. In the Isle of Man there is but one Congregationalist preacher to a population of 143,779 ! ! And in Ireland, out of 30 such preachers, *five*, or ⅙th of the total number have no pastoral occupation, leaving but 25 men to a teeming population, benighted, priest-ridden, and degraded, of not less than 5,792,055 ! ! So much for voluntaryism ! So much for the zeal and consistency of anti-state-church religionists ! So much for the foes of the Irish Church. They would cut every incumbent, vicar, and rector adrift—disendow, rob, spoliate. And what is to be the substitute ? What but a pompous name ? An "Irish Congregational Union" of some 25 preachers, *one-fifth* of whom have received no ministerial training whatsoever !

128 members, or an average of 6·7 or 6½ members to each. And more, for these 19 churches the total number under pastoral visitation, not half of whom were regular hearers, was 6,150, or an average for each pastor of persons under visitation of not more than 323½. And of the remaining 7 churches, it would be safe to affirm that they are, with perhaps one exception, in a state of langour, apathy, and inaction.

Chapter V.

INADEQUACY OF PURE VOLUNTARYISM.

But to limit our animadversions to the more influential, the more numerous, and the more wealthy of the two leading sections of pure voluntaries—what, it may fairly be asked, are the Congregationalists doing towards the evangelization of the swarming population of this country? What are they doing towards the practical exposition of the voluntary principle? Enough has been said. What has been *done?* Here is the true test of the efficiency of a system. What has *pure* voluntaryism done, and what is it actually doing? Is it adequate to the church's mission? Has it compassed the great social problems? Has it justified its own arrogant and pompous assumptions? Is it the omnipotent thing it pretends to be? Are its deeds as brilliant as its words? These are of course questions which every churchman has a right to ask, and in as far as it lies within his power, not only to ask, but to answer.

Now if the facts are fairly examined, it will be seen that, when attempted in practice, a pure voluntaryism,—it is said *pure*, because the argument is not directed against a *mixed* voluntaryism, demonstrates its own intrinsic and inevitable futility. As a theory it may be fascinating but as a praxis it is a failure. Take for example the positive achievements of Congregationalism within the limits of the United Kingdom. In the following table will be found the statistics of that denomination.

CONGREGATIONALISM,—1863-64.

	Population 1861.	Churches.		Chapels.	Pluralities.	Sittings.	Ministers.		
		Vacant.	Total				No Minister? Training	No Charge.	Total.
In England ...	19,203,206	155	1,818	2,698	116	902,447	482	387	1,738
„ Wales.....	1,006,462	79	687	640	208	174,834	122	35	361
„ Scotland...	3,061,329	14	103	103	2	* 39,872·6	17	14	99
„ Ireland ...	5,792,055	4	28	28	1		6	5	30
„ Jersey.....	56,078	3	8	9	5			2	6
„ Guernsey...	36,362	1	5	5	3			1	4
„ Isle of Man	143,779	1	2	2					1
Totals.....	29,299,274	257	2,651	3,485	335	1,117,153	629	444	2,239

* Calculated according to the ratio of chapels to sittings throughout the whole of Wales. The average capacity of Congregational chapels in Wales is 273·1. As thus calculated the number 39,873 must considerably exceed the actual accommodation.

Here it will be seen that the population according to the census of 1861 for the whole of Great Britain is 29,299,274. Out of such a population Congregationalism has only been able to organise some 2,651 churches or companies of the faithful, 257 of which are "vacant," that is, have no pastoral supervision. But although there are only 2.651 churches, yet there are 3,485 chapels, being an excess of chapels over churches of—834. Now, *these* 834 *chapels are at the best but mere preaching rooms.* For where there is no living church—no spiritual temple, it matters little that there is the merely material edifice. But here there is suggested a subject of no little interest in connexion with the tactics of Dissidence. Dissenters are sufficiently aware of the importance of statistics ; and have artifices of their own in order to secure as large a numerical array as is possible with their comparatively meagre and unsatisfactory materials. Thus for example of the 2,651 churches, not a few may consist of from 6 to 30 individuals. Many of the so-called " churches" have but a *nominal* existence; as has been shewn, 19 out of 28 of the Irish Congregational churches have an average of $6\frac{7}{10}$ members to each ; and yet withal they are reckoned as churches. Again, in 1857 the average number of members for 46 churches in the West Riding of Yorkshire was that of 29·5 or $29\frac{1}{2}$ to each. In another county the total number of members is 1,300. In Kent the average number of members for each church does not exceed 71·3. And the same phenomenon presents itself at a hundred points over the whole surface of the country. But even were the whole of the so-called " *churches*" what, in mercantile phrase, is called a bonâ fide article—were they thoroughly

orthodox, where they are latitudinarian—enlightened where they are fanatical—united where they are factious, schismatic, and contentious—and were they influential societies of christians where they are mere collections of half-dozens, dozens, scores, and thirties, the sum total would, notwithstanding all, be shamefully and miserably small.

Then again, as to the "*chapels*" or edifices so named a few observations will not be inappropriate. The *name* would very naturally suggest a structure of sufficient capacity to accommodate at the lowest 500 worshippers. But is this the case? Certainly not. It does not "take much" to make a "chapel."* What sort of a "chapel" is

* In 1851, "the three denominations (Wesleyans, Independents, and Baptists,) possessed 11,645 Chapels and 7,363 preaching stations, viz. :—39 per cent. were "rooms, etc." Now, all these thousands of private apartments figure as "chapels" with "accommodation" "free and appropriated" in the "Census of Religious Worship." Many a poor cottager would stare if told that his little kitchen, where Robin Smith the ploughman, or John Brown the carpenter, holds a meeting of the neighbours on a Sunday evening, is reckoned up in a Government return as a "chapel," the space for every stool and bench being called a sitting! Far be it from me to depreciate such influences; but it is right that we should know what we are talking about. When we remember that so many as 13,092 places of meeting had no minister, or only share of one, we see something more of their character. On the same principle we might almost reckon the houses in which there are family prayers—at all events, our cottage lectures are often much more important. There are three such in my parish; or, according to Dissenting exaggerations, *it contains four churches.*"—*The Actual Progress of Dissent in England, by the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., F.S.A.*, pp. 32, 33.

"In the three groups selected from Mr. Baines, the percentage

it, that can be built at a total cost of £145? What sort of "chapels" are they that can be built for sums severally of not more than £250, £260, and £280. In one county in England,—a county which is reckoned as a strong-hold of Dissent, out of 46 chapels, *nine* are erected at a total cost of less than £330 each, 19 at a total cost of less than £901 each; and the average cost of the whole 46 did not exceed the sum of £677 6s. each.

Then furthermore, it is not to be supposed that these "chapels",—uncostly as they are in many instances, are honestly and fairly paid for. A surprisingly large proportion of the total number of Dissenting chapels are at this moment burdened with an original debt which no amount of subsequent effort has been in any wise able to remove.

is 39. If we take single bodies the percentage of rooms, etc., even by Mr. Baines's return, and on the supposition of no exaggeration, is—Association Methodists, 36½; Baptists, 41; and Primitive Methodists 68¼. Please to bear in mind that these are all called "places of worship" at one time, and "chapels" at another. The simple point which distinguished many of the cases from mere family prayers, was that drawn out in Question 3,180, by Mr. Lawrence Heyworth, that the *neighbours had access.* The meeting was so far public, but no further. Thus many a labouring man's kitchen figures in the government return as a "chapel," a statement which is technically true, but conventionally quite false.

In a Parliamentary paper, No. 443, of 1836, there is a list of 14 chapels, on p. 27, described as merely dwelling-houses or rooms. On the same page, a Dissenting meeting-house, known as 'Ebenezer Chapel' is described as 'a summer-house in John Hunt's garden'; and another is 'a room in John Golder's dwelling-house, Pockthorpe, (Norwich) opposite the Jolly Sportsman.'"—*Defence not Defiance, or a Few Words for the Church of England, by Rev. Dr. Hume,* p. 48.

There are "chapels" within a given district of the West Riding of Yorkshire, whose dates reach back as far 1836, 1824, 1818, 1816, 1811, and even 1793, which are still encumbered, even altho' the cost of erection in the first instance was in no case large.

But more. The disproportion between the churches or societies of members, and the chapels or places of worship has been already noticed. It has been shown that there are 834 more chapels than there are churches :—clearly a curious phenomenon ! ! But the disproportion between the number of chapels and the number of preachers is even greater.* For to 3,485 "chapels" there are but 2,339 preachers, 444 of whom are without pastoral charge. In brief, for 3,485 so-called "chapels" the denomination only supplies 1,895 working pastors. With such facts before us, we are able to judge for ourselves of the nature of these Congregational chapelries. If the truth were told many of them are not "chapels" at all. Of the 3,338 "chapels" in England and Wales, only 1,824 are "registered for public worship"—and a still smaller number 1,494 are "registered for Marriages." Now, these latter figures more truly represent the actual number of chapels or structures worthy of the name at present furnished by Congregationalism. Not more than half the so-called "chapels" in Great Britain really are such,—much less are they to be put in competition with the

* And these animadversions apply with equal truthfulness to Dissent generally, as the subjoined tabular statement will show. In this table, drawn up by the Rev. Dr. Hume,—one of the ablest statisticians in this country, we have presented to view "the

churches of the National Establishment. There are for

number of places of worship and of ministers in each of the eleven Registration divisions of the kingdom.

PLACES OF WORSHIP AND PROFESSIONAL MINISTERS IN 1851.

	CHURCH.			PROTESTANT DISSENTERS.		
	Churches.	Clergy.	Per Cent.	Chapels.	Ministers.	Per Cent.
I. London	458	1,305	285	573	503	88
II. South-Eastern Counties	1,616	2,233	138	1,502	529	35
III. South-Midland "	1,414	1,961	139	1,582	513	32
IV. Eastern "	1,629	1,680	103	1,344	414	31
V. South-Western "	2,006	2,404	120	2,761	786	29
VI. West-Midland "	1,783	2,314	130	1,975	626	37
VII. North-Midland "	1,499	1,371	91	2,057	438	21
VIII. North-Western "	791	1,109	140	1,531	581	38
IX. Yorkshire	1,119	1,206	108	2,361	625	27
X. Northern Counties	682	669	115	1,070	335	31
XI. Wales	1,180	1,068	90	2,776	1,055	38
	14,077	17,320	123	19,532	6,405	33

Now here it will be seen that,—"for every 100 chapels of Protestant Dissenters in England and Wales there are only 33

example, 640 " chapels" in the principality of Wales ; but what is their average capacity ? Not more than 273 to each. Now many of these chapels, perhaps a third are of considerably larger capacity. But the consequence is, that the other two-thirds fall *below* the average. And if below a miserable average of $273\frac{1}{10}$ to each—where in the name of common honesty and truthfulness is the propriety of the designation ? Why mislead the public ? Why vamp up sham statistics ?

But the small average capacity of the congregational chapels of the principality is by no means of rare occurrence. Take several English counties. In Bedfordshire, the average is only 376 to each; that is, each chapel, taking one with another, does not afford accommodation for more than 376 persons. The average capacity of the Congregational chapels in Berkshire is 282. The average capacity for Buckinghamshire is still less, being only 216 ! ! In Cheshire, although there are included such places as Birkenhead, Crewe, Macclesfield, and Stockport, yet, the average capacity of Congregationalist chapels does not exceed that of 333* to each. In Lancashire union again,

Ministers ; while for every 100 churches there are 123 Ministers. This simple fact shows the different kind of duty performed by the two classes of men ; the one class discharging *Pastoral* duties, the other *Ministerial* or *Preaching* duties only."—*The Church of England, the Best Home Missionary, by the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., F.S.A.*, p. 6. It is to the courtesy of the Rev. Dr. Hume that we are indebted for the possession of these and some other valuable statistics, which will be found incorporated in the footnotes.

* 333·4.

even although there are included all the larger chapels of Liverpool, Wigan, Southport, Blackpool, Preston, Ashton-under-Lyne, Bolton, Bury, Manchester, Rochdale, Oldham, Blackburn, and many other centres of population, yet, withal the average capacity of the chapels in the union does not exceed that of 490 each. And this is a high average. In Essex the average capacity of Congregationalist chapels is only 356·7, or 357 to each; in Somersetshire 258 to each; in Shropshire 201·8 or 202 to each; in Westmoreland 200 to each; and in Rutlandshire not more than 181 to each. These are facts; and facts are inflexible. What must be the character of these chapels, when their average capacity falls as low as 258, 202, 200, and even 181, for as many several English counties. Surely these are not the structures which, in a numerical estimate, are to be brought into comparison with the churches of the establishment. So many "chapels" over against so many churches is not a fair argument, unless it can be shown that the "chapels" represent an equivalent amount of accommodation for worship, an equivalent amount of religious organization, and an equivalent amount of pastoral supervision to that of such several churches of the Anglican Communion. But is it possible to show this? Certainly and decisively no! *

* For 1,590 Congregationalist chapels are at this present time without pastors, being but some 200 short of a *half of the total number* of such chapels in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and the Isles of the British Seas. But not so of the National Church. Every church has at least one, in many cases two, and in not a few cases three and even four, resident working clergy.

But the fifth column of figures in the table given, at page 71, suggests another curious characteristic of such denominational system. Much has been said about the existence of pluralities in the church; and that it is an abuse none will pretend to deny. There are circumstances which may palliate the practice it is true, especially where two or more benefices taken singly would not have afforded adequate maintenance. But in any case it is an abuse, and an abuse which, whatever may at one time have been true, has at present little more than a nominal existence in the Church of the Nation. But who could have thought it possible that they who have clamoured the loudest against pluralities in the Church, have actually incorporated the very self-same abuse, and that on an extensive scale, into their own ecclesiastical organization. In England there are 116 cases of Congregationalist pluralism—in Wales 208, and in the remaining portion of the kingdom, 11. To commit more than *one* church to one pastor is to commit an ecclesiastical error. He *cannot* in the nature of things exercise the proper amount of pastoral care over more than one religious society at once. In attempting more, the church is injured, and he himself is injured; yes, he himself is injured, for he either over-taxes his own energies, vainly of course, or else, as more commonly happens, lapses into a state of ministerial apathy and supineness. In the attempt to do more than his duty he ends by doing less. He ceases to be a true pastor. He becomes a lecturer or declaimer. Upon the unreclaimed masses he is able to make no impression whatever. He never reaches them. He never attempts house to house visitation; how

can he, with three, four, and perhaps five chapels in as many separate townships under his single, solitary and individual supervision? He may find time for a lecture or even a course of lectures against the abuses of the Establishment; but he cannot find time to visit the sick; to reclaim the lost; to carry the gospel to the multitudes who never cross the threshhold of the sanctuary; or personally to oversee the various and interdependent interests of the flock,—and why? Because he is a pluralist. Because he is set down to do a work which could only be compassed by the combined and united efforts of some six or a dozen faithful and able pastors.

That these are not merely supposititious abuses will appear on a closer inspection of the facts. In one county there are 23 cases of pluralism, 18 where *two*, and 5 where *three* churches are entrusted to but *one* presiding pastor. In another one pastor has the care of *five* churches, a second of *four*, three others of *three* each, and sixteen more of two churches each, or in brief 21 pastors are taxed with the care of 50 churches. In another county we find 20 churches entrusted to five men, being at the rate of 4 churches to each pastor. And in another county there are no fewer than *nine* different churches, located in different townships and villages, with their respective places of worship all under the care of but one minister or preacher. And that it would be easy to extend this ennumeration through a long list of painfully curious details, will become apparent when it is remembered that in Wales alone there are out of an exhaustive total of 687 indepen-

dent churches or societies, not fewer than 208 cases of pluralism.

But not to insist further on this point, we come to the last four columns of the table. From the last of the four it will be seen that the total number of Congregationalist ministers, is 2,239. But of these 444 have no charge, leaving not more than 1,795 actually engaged in ministerial labour, for a population of nearly THIRTY MILLIONS! Nevertheless the worst is not yet told.—Nearly a *fourth* of the whole body of Congregationalist ministers have received no ministerial training whatsoever. These men are in most cases lamentably and shamefully ignorant. Their glibness of tongue in the absence of almost every qualification having been taken or rather mistaken as an evidence of their "call" to the ministry, they have assumed forthwith the solemn duties of that high and sacred office. One has gone directly without intermediate preparation from watchmaking to sermon-making; a second from painting to preaching; a third from the building up of the material to the building up of the spiritual edifice, and a fourth from "cobbling" to divinity. Nor let it be imagined that these illustrations are drawn at random. They might easily be even yet more specifically and individually applied. The fact is that masons, tailors, carpenters, painters, and brush-makers,* do by the *popular suffrage* secure an easy intro-

* A curious illustration of this point is furnished in the *Year Book* for 1864. In an interesting Paper read by Dr. Spence at the Autumnal Meeting, occur the following startling confessions;—

duction into the ministry of nonconformity. Now the objection lies, *not* against the trades themselves; but against the introduction into the sacred ministry of religion, of men who are disqualified by their ignorance, if not by their vulgarity. Raw from their handicrafts, they are precipitated upon a vocation, which demands a

"Men not unfrequently get into the ministry, and come to be pastors of churches who have never been to college at all, and who have never had any training that can fit them for the ministry..... There have been and there sometimes are, ordinations and recognitions amongst us, without any due investigation on the part of the presbyters, conducting the service, as to the qualifications, antecedents, and character of the minister they set apart. To be an evangelist is one thing, to be a pastor is quite another thing. Many a man may be gifted to be a village preacher, who is totally incompetent to be a teacher of the whole counsel of God to the same people from week to week, and to rule wisely a christian church. To continue as a village preacher, prosecuting his usual secular calling, may afford him the opportunity of being useful to many; while to leave his secular calling, pass into the pastorate and write "Reverend" on his card, may probably be the source of growing discomfort to himself, and of dissatisfaction and confusion in the church of God." The Doctor then furnishes an illustration pertinent to the subject. "Who applies for a grant to Wetterton?" asked a venerable pastor, whose name was a tower of strength among us, as he presided at a meeting of a certain county association a few years ago. "Who applies for a grant to Wetterton?" "I did not know we had a church there." "I apply for it" said a voice that came from a little, rough, sharp-visaged man, not far from the enquirer. "You sir?" "When was the church formed at Wetterton?" "Eighteen months ago." "And how many are there in christian fellowship?" "*Eleven members, and nineteen or twenty* of a regular congregation in the morning." "Who is the pastor of this new church?" "I am" replied the same applicant for aid. "Pray sir, what is your name?" "My name is Sorringworth." "Sorringworth?" "Sorringworth?" said the presiding pastor, at the same time ruminating and looking to the assembled brethren of the county. "Sorringworth, I did

well-informed, well-disciplined, and well-balanced intellect, a thorough knowledge of theology—a critical acquaintance with the original languages of the Holy Scriptures as well as the languages of their principal versions—and some considerable practice in the application of exegetical principles, not to name other essential elements of a sound gentlemanly education such as logic, history, philology, philosophy, literature, and science.

But, not only are the ministers of the Congregational denomination, to the extent of nearly *one fourth** of the total number, men, who, like "the Reverend the brush-maker of Green-street" † have received *no theological or*

not know we had a minister of that name in this county," when suddenly a gleam of light seemed to have burst forth upon his mind, and turning to the applicant he said "Pray sir, are you *the Brushmaker of Green-street*," remembering a lay or local preacher of that name in connexion with one of the churches in the town where he lived. "I am, sir" was the prompt reply. "And have you been ordained?" "Yes, sir." "Who took part in your ordination—who ordained you?" "Mr. Chargeless, your deacon, sir," "My deacon!—my deacon! I will settle with him;" and he ceased his enquiries,' 'with a frown of righteous indignation on his brow.'.....' It seems a defect,' adds Dr. Spence, 'that there is no recognised order among us on a matter of so much importance.'—Vide *Congregational Year Book*, 1864. Ap. p. 6.

"Among the Primitive Methodists, strong-minded women form part of the recognised ministers."—*Defence not Defiance, a few words for the Church of England, p.* 60. *London, J. H. & J. Parker.*

* $\frac{1}{3{\cdot}508}$

† For an explanation of this allusion, vide the curious and interesting note to page 81.

clerical training whatsoever; but also upwards of *one-fifth* of the remaining portion are men, whose training, if such it may be called, has been of a decidedly inferior and insufficient character. The old "academical" and "domestic" system was most miserably inadequate and unsatisfactory. It was not reasonable to expect then that men, whose only preparation for the ministry was obtained at Pickering, Rowell, Tarvey, Barnet, Blackburn, Idle, Wymondley, Hoxton, Yeovil, or Penywaun, should be other than slenderly equipped for the mental, moral, and religious battles which the servant of God is called upon to wage,—or for the momentous controversies, to which the progress of scientific discovery, and 'metaphysical speculation are incessantly giving origin. No wonder then that such an uneducated ministry should have furnished easy victims to doctrinal fanaticism. No wonder that the extremest form of the Genevan theology has found among such pastors its most furious and intolerant expositors. No wonder that nearly all the great verities of the christian scheme have in turn been treated with a lax and audacious criticism. No wonder that every exorbitance of creed has found among them its fervid and zealotist apostles. No wonder that Pelagianism, Socinianism, Arianism, Sabellianism, and almost every other sciolism, should, in such a soil, have vegetated, and reproduced themselves, in widespread* and noxious luxuriance! No

* In consequence of this statement, it may be added that at least *one* of the Congregational colleges was expressly "established" to cite the words of their own documents "by the London Congregational Fund Board to counteract the *tendency to Arianism*, which had *extensively* affected the Western Churches!" And was not Dr.

wonder in a word, if out of so many Reverend "*seri studiorum*" there should have occurred accession after accession to the already motleyed and darkling array of enthusiasts, fanatics, heretics, schismatics, "levellers," and demagogues!

> ....."Longe mea discrepat istis
> Et vox et ratio."†

But there is yet another topic, which ought not to be omitted in the present investigation, and that is *the actual amount of accommodation for public worship* which voluntaryism has provided to meet the rapidly increasing wants of our mighty population. Now, the sixth column of figures in the table at page 71, will show at a glance what Congregationalists are doing. It will there be seen that in England for a population of about *twenty millions*, there have been provided but 902,447 sittings, leaving upwards of *eighteen millions and a quarter* utterly destitute; and for the other *ten millions* there have been provided but 214,706 sittings, leaving destitute of such provision in other parts of Great Britain, 9,881,362. In fact at the very utmost the chapel accommodation provided by Congregational voluntaryism for the whole of Great Britain

Watts inclined to the same heresy? Did not John Foster—not to name the layman Sir James Stephens, K.C.B., argue against the eternity of future punishments? Was not the Rev. Robert Hall, during a considerable period of his ministry, covertly at least, a *materialist*? Or, to come to more recent events, do not the names of Lynch, Davidson, Godwin, and others suggest denominational episodes of not too felicitous a character.

† Horat. Sat. lib. ii. 6.

does not exceed that of 3·8 per cent. of the population. For the remaining 96·2 per cent., including the dense mass of our own "civilized heathendom," Congregationalism has made no spiritual provision whatsoever.

Then again, there is the *distribution* of such chapel accommodation to be considered. This, it will be seen, is very unequal. As a rule the agricultural districts are neglected. Congregationalism, acting on the free-trade principle, sells its religious services and ministrations to the highest bidder. No pay—no gospel is its fundamental principle. "Hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum." *

* Horat. Carm. lib. III. 6.

Mr. Mann says, (CXXX. *n.*), "*the necessarily self-supporting character* of all the institutions founded by Dissenters renders it in their case almost indispensable to make the erection of a chapel *dependent upon the prospect of an adequate pecuniary* return!" And when this return has ceased to be possible, through a change in the character of the neighbourhood, the chapel is sold, and the proceeds are used in the erection of another in a better site. He adds (CXXXI. *n*),—that Dissenters had only 3,701 chapels in 1801, "is scarcely probable, and seems to prove that *many Dissenters' buildings, existing in former years, have since been disused, or have been replaced by others*.

Now, since Mr. Horace Mann wrote, "the missing link" has been found; the information which, to his regret, he did not possess, is now before us; and, strange to say, it is to Mr. Bright that we are indebted for the possession of it. From the return which he moved for in 1855, we obtain the number of places licensed under the Toleration Act as they stand in the second column of the following table. From Mr. Horace Mann's table of buildings according to date, we obtain the third column; the fourth is a matter of calculation.

And hence it is, that the strength of dissidence is among the middle-class of the town populations. In the West Riding of Yorkshire with its great centres of commercial industry, the chapel accommodation rises as high as 6 per cent. of the population ; in the North Riding it is less, or 5 per cent. ; and in the East Riding still less, being but

Ten Years preceding.		Places licensed.		Still standing in 1851.		
1811	—	5,460	—	1,169		or 21 per cent.
1821	—	10,161	—	1,905	—	18 ,,
1831	—	10,585	—	2,865	—	27 ,,
1841	—	7,422	—	4,199	—	56 ,,
1851	—	5,810	—	4,397	—	75 ,,
Total licensed in fifty years.		39,438		14,535		
Total standing in 1851.		16,502		1,967		Proportional part of those with dates unknown.
Balance.....		22,936		Missing in fifty years !		

It further appears, that in the last two decennial periods and part of the third, or in a period of twenty-six and a half years, 20,390 chapels were licensed. In other words if every chapel were of sufficient importance to be licensed, the whole number would be renewed in an average of about twenty-six years, but, as we know that (to the extent of several thousands) many of the smaller ones are not licensed, we may safely declare that *the Dissenting Chapels of England and Wales are reproduced in an average period of twenty years.*" *The Actual Progress of Dissent in England, by the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., etc.*, p. 35.

" There is growing up, even in our Dissenting Churches, an evil which I greatly deplore—a despising of the poor. I frequently hear in conversation such remarks as this—' Oh, it is no use trying in such a place as this, you could never raise a self-supporting cause. There are none but poor living in the neighbourhood.' If there is a site to be chosen for a chapel, it is said—' Well there is such a lot

4 per cent., omitting fractions; so that taking the three Ridings together the average accommodation is that of 5·95 per cent. But the percentage is very considerably less in other of the counties of England. In Kent, for example, only 4·1 per cent. of the population are accommodated; in Bedfordshire 4·5; in Cheshire 4·3. In Lancashire populous and wealthy as it is, it falls still lower being but 3·4 per cent. In Cumberland it is but 3·5; in Nottinghamshire 2·9; in Herefordshire 2·3; in Worcestershire 2·5; in Cornwall 2·4; in Westmoreland 2·9; in Durham 1·8; and in Northumberland 1·7. And in other parts of the kingdom the provision is even yet more scant. In Scotland, to wit, Congregationalists have not

of poor people round about, you would never be able to keep a Minister. It is no use trying. They are all poor.' You know that in the city of London itself, there is now scarcely a dissenting place of worship. The reason for giving most of them up, and moving them into the suburbs, is that all the respectable people live out of town, and, of course, *they are the people to look after.*"—*Spurgeon's Sermon, May 26th,* 1861.

Dr. Hume affirms that upon this very principle "33 congregations in Liverpool...have occupied 130 distinct sites." And a Mr. Tyler said at a Bicentenary Meeting that "in the east of London, they had, he was sorry to say, *lost in one square mile,* no fewer than 37 chapels. Some of them were altogether gone, and the sites of nine could not be traced. There were four turned into schools, four into Church of England Schools, two into Roman Catholic Schools, three were Baptist chapels. two belonged to Latter Day Saints, one was a Birkbeck school, one was a hall, two belonged to the Primitive Methodists, one mongrel, one (Zion Chapel) had been closed for some time, but within the last few days sold to the Roman Catholics, two belonged to the Methodist Connexion, *two had been turned into warehouses, and one into gas works!*" So much for Voluntaryism *pur et simple.* See—Defence not Defiance, pp. 15, 51.

provided sittings for more than 0·91 per cent of the population, or about *one* out of every *two hundred*; in the Isle of Man not more than 0·37 per cent. or about *one* out of every *three hundred*; and in Ireland for not more than 0·13 per cent. or about *one* out of every *nine hundred ! !* Surely, *this* is not their ecclesiastical catholicon ! Surely, this is not the triumph of voluntaryism ! Surely, this is not the Lilliputian thing that has ventured to rear its diminutive front against our colossal establishment,—and which hopes to set up its microscopic dominion upon the ruins of Church and State !

But to take the facts in another of their aspects. The attempt has been made, by Mr. Edward Baines, M.P., among the rest, to establish the superior claims of voluntaryism, as a scheme of ecclesiastical finance. That gentleman, by a most fallacious process of reasoning, has essayed to prove that in the Cotton and Woollen Districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire there is a majority of chapels, voluntary of course, over churches of 810, and of chapel-sittings over church-sittings of 228,151. Now, here supposing the statistics to be accurate, the logic is inconsequential. Take Mr. Baines's "Yorkshire District." What area, can it be supposed is intended to be covered by so magnificent a designation ? Strange to say, only four parishes—those namely of Huddersfield, Leeds, Sheffield, and Wakefield ! Or, take the "Lancashire District." What area does such a designation cover ? Only that of eight parishes and boroughs ! Eight and not more than eight ! But the question naturally arises, do four parishes

honestly represent *the whole* of the Woollen District?—or, upon the other hand, do eight parishes and boroughs fairly represent *the whole* of the Cotton District? If not—and they certainly do not, then Mr. Baines's conclusion is flagrantly illogical. That in some four parishes voluntaryism may have gained a slight preponderance, is one thing; that in the *Yorkshire* district such a preponderance has been acquired, is quite another. And yet the honourable member for Leeds does not seem to see this; but in open violation of the canon of inference, distributes the subject of his conclusion whereas it has not been distributed in the premisses.

Then, further, another of Mr. Baines's errors is that of classifying with voluntaries properly so called, those sects which upon principle receive government benefactions. Wesleyans, Roman Catholics, and Presbyterians, are no more voluntaries than are members of the Anglican establishment. Wesleyans receive state grants for educational purposes; and in the words of Dr. Winter Hamilton of Leeds. "Is not the appointment and sustentation of instruction in religion *an establishment, as far as it goes, of that religion?*"* So that Wesleyans cannot correctly be called voluntaries, since within given limits, they are themselves 'establishmentarians.' Between 1839 and 1863, Wesleyanism received parliamentary grants for education to the amount of £308,112 17s. 6d. Presbyterianism in like manner, receives government sustentation. Between the same dates it had received school grants in Scotland to no

* Institutions of Popular Education, p. 277.

less an amount than £628,962 8s. 1d., and other grants to the amount of £17,040 ; and in Ireland, to the aggregate annual sum of about £47,000 ! Roman Catholicism too, between the same dates received state grants for education to the amount of not less than 246,903 14s, 6d. in England, Scotland, and Wales ; and in Ireland, towards the education of its priests an *annual* grant of not less than £26,360, being an excess of that made to all the Queen's Colleges in Ireland of £5,310 per annum. These denominations, then are not truly *voluntary* in practice. Indeed according to Dr. Hamilton's dictum, they are within given limits *established* ; so that to include their efforts among those of pure voluntaryism is to err not less in history than in logic. This error however, Mr. Baines has committed, and, therefore, for this another reason, his conclusions are illegitimate and nugatory.

But now to the statistics themselves. Is it true that in the Cotton and Woollen Districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, voluntaryism has an excess of chapels over churches of 810, and of chapel-sittings over church-sittings of 228,151 ! We think, not. "*Agedum, pauca accipe, contra.*" Of course, only approximate statistics can be obtained. Mr. Baines's animadversions have reference to Lancashire and Yorkshire. Take, therefore, his own elect position. What are pure voluntaries, for of course only pure voluntaries will be taken into the estimate, actually accomplishing in these two large, populous, and wealthy counties ? What is voluntaryism, stripped of all other aids, capable of effecting ? What has it effected ?

The following tables may help in some measure to an answer.

Baptist Denomination :—1863.			
County.	Chapels.	Working Pastors.	Chapel-Sittings.
Lancashire	94	69	39,248·3*
Yorkshire.....	109	70	50,161·8
Totals { For both Counties.	203	139	89,410·1

Take again, the statistics of Congregationalism for the same two counties, and the estimate of pure voluntaryism may be considered as complete. The statistics of Wesleyanism, Presbyterianism and Roman Catholicism, are of course excluded as not pertaining to voluntaryism proper.

Congregationalism :— 1863.			
County.	Chapels.	Working Pastors.	Chapel-Sittings.
Lancashire	170	136	83,322
Yorkshire.....	263	153	121,038
Totals { For both Counties.	433	289	204,360

* *Calculated according to the ratio of Congregational Chapels to sittings throughout the whole of Wales. As thus calculated these numbers must considerably exceed the actual accommodation.*

Now, by adding these totals together, we obtain the following results :—

For both Denominations :—1863.			
County.	Chapels.	Working Pastors.	Chapel-Sittings.
Total { For both Counties.	636	428	293,770

Compare, then with this array of voluntaryism the provision made by the Established Church in the three dioceses of Ripon, York, and Manchester which cover nearly the same geographical area ; it is said *nearly*, because there are portions of the county of Lancashire included in the two other Dioceses of Carlisle and Chester of which in the following table no cognizance has been taken.

Church of England :—1863.			
Diocese.	Churches.	Clergy.	Church-Sittings
Ripon	447	622	229,726
York	534	739	225,614
Manchester	363	576	272,718
Total { For the three Dioceses.....	1344	1937	728,058

Subtract, now from the totals of the three dioceses, the totals of the two denominations, or voluntaryism

proper, and there will be a decided majority in every specification for the Anglican Church for *a less geographical area*, as will appear in the following table :—

For Lancashire and Yorkshire.	Churches or Chapels.	Clergy or Pastors.	Church- or Chapel-Sittings.
The Established Church...	1344	1937	728,058
Pure Voluntaryism	636	428	293,770
Majority for the Establishment	708	1509	435,288

Here the majorities are most decided. In the diocese of York alone there are more working clergy by 309, than there are Congregational and Baptist pastors in the whole of the two counties of Lancashire and Yorkshire ! And in the two dioceses of Ripon and York, that is *in Yorkshire alone*, there are more church-sittings by 161,572, than there are chapel-sittings in both Yorkshire and Lancashire taken together! And in this estimate of church accommodation, besides the portions of Lancashire for which *no* statistics have been tabulated, *no* account has been taken of the thousands, if not of the hundreds of thousands of sittings provided in the daily increasing number of ecclesiastical buildings fitted up and licensed for public worship, which, had they been in the hands of dissent would have been tabulated as chapels ; but which, as it is, are excluded from the number of churches properly so called, and in consequence also from the statistics of church accommodation.

And what has here been found true of these two northern counties, the strongholds, be it remembered, of a multicoloured dissidence, is true, only in a more emphatic degree, of every other portion of our insular empire. Take as an instance, the case of the metropolis, as exhibited in the following tables :—

London :—Population 2,570,097.—1863.			
Denominations.	Chapels.	Working Pastors.	Chapel-sittings.
Congregationalist...	201	84	116,560
Baptist.....	171	140	99,163
Totals { For both denominations.....	372	224	215,723

Now compare with these totals the statistics of the Metropolitan Diocese.

The Diocese of London :—1863.			
	Benefices.	Working Clergy.	Church-sittings.
Totals { For the Diocese...	324	716	398,841
Majority { For the Estabt.		492	183,118

And here it must be observed that the number of benefices does not exhaust the number of churches, and other episcopal places of worship; but upon the other hand falls in many instances considerably short of that number. But even supposing that this were not the case in the diocese of the metropolis, yet, besides the fact that the Established Church has a majority of working clergy of not less than 492, the 324 benefices give an aggregate majority of sittings over the 372 chapels, of not less than 183,118.

And here, as the amount of Church Accommodation is in question, a few other facts may not inappropriately be adduced. Observe, then, that there are in the diocese of Ripon alone more church-sittings by 54,892 than there are Congregational chapel-sittings in the whole of the principality of Wales! ! ! And in the two dioceses of York and Ripon, that is to say *in Yorkshire alone*, there are more church-sittings by 67,490 than there are chapel-sittings in all the Congregational and Baptist chapels in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, together with the Orkney and the Shetland Isles, Guernsey, Jersey, and the Isle of Man.

Dissent it has been said flourishes mostly among the town populations. The more sparsely populated districts offer little to these ecclesiastical adventurers. Take, as an illustration, the diocese of Lincoln, which is co-extensive with the two counties of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, having a population of 706,026.

Comparative Statistics for the Diocese of Lincoln.

The Diocese of Lincoln :—1863.

Counties.	Benefices.	Working Clergy	Church-sittings.
Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire...	796	1076	238,831

Baptist Denomination :—1863.

Counties.	Chapels.	Working Pastors.	Chapel-sittings.
Nottinghamshire...	31	14	12,853
Lincolnshire	34	25	10,294
Total.	65	39	23,148

Congregationalism :—1863.

Counties	Chapels.	Working Pastors.	Chapel-sittings.
Nottinghamshire....	21	13	8,707
Lincolnshire.	38	20	11,508
Total.	59	33	20,215
Totals { For both Denominations	124	72	43,363

Subtract, now, from the totals of the diocese of Lincoln, the totals of the two denominations, or of voluntaryism

proper, and there will be majorities in every specification for the church of England, as will appear in the following tabular statement:—

For the Diocese of Lincoln or Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire.	Churches or Chapels.	Clergy or Pastors.	Church or Chapel-sittings.
The Established Church..	796	1076	238,831
Congregational & Baptist denominations, or Voluntaryism Proper.	124	72	43,363
Majority { For the Establishment. ...	672	1004	195,468

But as a further demonstration of the fact that Dissent is essentially *mercantile* in its spirit—that it only preaches the gospel to those who can pay for it,—and that it does not create the demand for the truth as it is in Jesus, but mercenarily waits until such demand has been already made, before it adequately, or even earnestly although inadequately attempts its supply, the following figures are deserving careful consideration :*—

* The reader is also recommended to take into his consideration, in this connexion, the important statistical and other statements contained in the note to p. 85. It will there be seen to what expedients Voluntaryism is compelled to have resort in order to secure, as Mr. Horace Mann has expressed it—"*an adequate pecuniary return.*

Number of chapels, pastors, and sittings in Twenty-two English Counties.

Congregationalism :—1863.

	Counties.	Chapels.	Working Pastors.	Chapel-Sittings
1	Bedfordshire	19	9	6,155
2	Westmoreland.....	9	4	1,800
3	Cornwall	37	16	9,067
4	Cumberland.....	24	13	7,247
5	Durham .....:.....	25	15	9,397
6	Northumberland...	14	14	6,060
7	Herefordshire	20	8	2,892
8	Huntingdonshire...	23	15	6,500
9	Berkshire.....	34		9,599
10	Oxfordshire	43	45	8,369
11	Buckinghamshire...	56		11,991
12	Rutlandshire	6	1	1,086
13	Leicestershire	38	20	11,508
14	Northamptonshire..	56	22	17,906
15	Worcestershire.....	24	14	7,732
16	Cambridgeshire ...	38	21	12,195
17	Derbyshire	50	25	15,201
18	Shropshire	59	25	11,912
19	Dorsetshire	69	22	19,228
20	Hertfordshire	47	26	13,839
21	**Nottinghamshire*	21	13	8,707
22	*Lincolnshire*.....	56	22	17,906
Totals	For all the 22 Counties...	753	351	211,363

* *The two counties bracketed together constitute of themselves the whole of the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Lincoln.*

Now, from the totals of the diocese of Lincoln, subtract the totals for the whole of the twenty-two counties, and it will be found that the church is as to each specification in a decided majority—the church in but two of the counties over Congregational dissent in the two and twenty !

Respective Areas.	Churches or Chapels.	Working Clergy or Pastors.	Church or Chapel-sittings.
The Established Church for the Diocese of Lincoln or two Counties	796	1,076	238,831
Congregational Voluntaryism for the Twenty-two Counties...	753	351	211,363
Majority { For the Establt.	43	725	27,468

It is manifest from statistics like these that Voluntaryism is utterly inadequate. It does not honestly attempt the church's mission. To the major portion of the community—to the teeming millions who are being " destroyed"—destroyed in the darkest and most terrific sense of the word, " for lack of knowledge, " the spiritual traffickers of this mercenary and hireling system carry no evangel—no celestial mission of mercy—no " good tidings of great joy." They leave the lower strata of society to rot in their vice and squalor. They leave the rural populations to their hereditary paganism. They leave

the poor to their pauperism and ignorance. Towards the conversion of the dense and degraded masses, who are at once neither able nor willing to pay for the ministrations of religion, voluntaryism makes, practically speaking, no provision whatsoever. Only its surplus energy is contributed towards what is by preëminence the mission of christianity, —that trifling modicum of power which remains to it, after that an almost exhaustive effort has been made to secure its own individual and organic self-sustentation. Let it be remembered that in 1863, Congregationalism distributed only some 351 working pastors among two-and-twenty English counties, being at the average rate of not quite 16 to each county! Imagine Northumberland with but 14 pastors, Cumberland with 13, Durham with 15, Huntingdonshire with 15, Nottinghamshire with 13, Worcestershire with 14, Bedfordshire with 9, Herefordshire with 8, Westmoreland with 4, and Rutlandshire with 1. Think, again, of Ireland, with its five and a half millions of souls under the pastoral care of 25 Congregationalist ministers, Think, too of Jersey with 4, of Guernsey with 3, and of the Isle of Man with but *one* of such pastors to a population of 143,779 !

And Baptist voluntaryism is no better. In the same year (1863) there were in 18 counties in England and Wales not more than 195 settled ministers, or about 10·8 to each county; and in Ireland there were but 25 ministers distributed over 12 counties, being at the rate of 2·3 or not 2½ pastors to each county. In Berkshire to take a few cases in point, there were in 1863 but 16 settled Baptist

ministers, in Herefordshire but 16, in Cheshire 15, in Oxfordshire 15, in Nottinghamshire 14, in Anglesea 14, Cornwall 12, in Dorsetshire 10, in Northumberland 9, in Flintshire 7, in Derbyshire 5, in Merionethshire 4, in Rutlandshire 3, in Cumberland 2, and in Westmoreland but 1. Surely, this is not the scheme, by which it is proposed to replace the parochial distribution of the country? In sooth this cannot be the splendid organization by which a dissident voluntaryism thinks to supplant the venerable ecclesiastical establishment, which has upgrown with the growth of our English constitution! Perish the thought!

....."Procul O! procul este, profani!" *

But one more illustration. It is not infrequently thought that the Established Church is doing nothing, or next to nothing towards the conversion and religious instruction of the country worthy of being put in comparison with the successes of the voluntary principle. The facts already adduced are of course fatal to such a theory. But take one illustration more. Congregational voluntaryism has provided in England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Jersey, Guernsey, and the Isle of Man a total of 1,117,153 chapel-sittings, and a total of not more than 1,795 working pastors. Now compare with these totals the following diocesan statistics :—

* Aen vi. 258.

Dioceses.	*Clergy.*	*Church-sittings.*
London.....	716	398,841
Winchester	808	301,781
Exeter	954	323,037
Lichfield	877	305,933
Totals	3,355	1,329,592

These be it observed, are the aggregates for but *four* of the English dioceses. Four and not more than four! Subtract, then, from the aggregates of the *four* dioceses, the corresponding totals of Congregational voluntaryism for the whole of England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and the Channel Islands:—

	Clergy.	*Church or Chapel-sittings.*
The 4 Dioceses	3,355	1,329,592
Congregational Voluntaryism in the whole of Great Britain.....	1,795	1,117,153
Majority { In the 4 Dioceses.	1,560	212,439

and we obtain for four dioceses, and only four, over Congregational voluntaryism in the whole extent of the United

Kingdom, a splendid majority of not less than *one thousand five hundred and sixty clergy*, and of Church-sittings over Chapel-sitting as many as *two hundred and twelve thousand four hundred and thirty-nine*. As Erasmus has well said :—"In certis rerum generibus, fateor, plerique malunt rem quam nomen; *in multis contra !*"

Chapter VI.

THE EVIDENCE OF SCRIPTURE.

But we come now to the consideration of a class of evidences which will and must practically determine the question. To the scriptures lies the ultimate appeal in all ethical and religious enquiries. The word of God is the crucial test. Its authority is supreme. If its well ascertained teaching is in favour of the state-church principle,—its rectitude, its practicability are inalterably and finally decided; if on the contrary, the principle is unscriptural, then no consideration of mere utility or temporary expediency can in any way justify its adoption.

What, then, we proceed to enquire, is the doctrine of Holy Writ on the subject matter in hand? Is it true, as John Angell James the late eminent non-conformist, has confidently asserted, that—"there is not a single passage

* Principles of Dissent, p. 8.

of the Christian Scriptures, which, fairly interpreted, contains any command to civil governors to provide religious instruction for their subjects, or that furnishes any rule by which such an important duty is to be preformed?" Is it true that "the Church of England is *not founded on scripture*, but on Acts of Parliament?"* Is it true that "the Union is condemned by the Word of God?"† Is it as Dr. Winter Hamilton has termed it an "unholy alliance."‡ Is it true that—"upon all national churches is stamped in deep and indelible characters, the mark of the beast?" Is it true that "the Church of England is an impious pretence"......"a life-destroying upas?"§ Is it true in the words of Dr. R. Baird, that "the union of Church and State is the greatest curse that has ever befallen christianity,—that it has done more, a hundred-fold more for fifteen centuries, to corrupt sound doctrine, to blend the world and the church, to subvert the rights of conscience and religious worship, and in a word to prevent men from entering into heaven than all the SLAVERY that ever existed?"‖ Is it true, in fine, that "with the mystery of iniquity"—the state-church principle "is wrapt up in a common doom"—"that the one and the other belong to the same system"—a system that "*must* fall," and "fall

* Church Penny Magazine, Vol. ii. p. 77.

† Essay on Church and State, by the Hon. and Rev, B. W. Noel, M.A., p. 110

‡ Institutions of Popular Education, p. 276.

§ Nonconformist's Sketch Book, by E. Miall.

‖ Progress and Prospects of Christianity in the United States of America, by R. Baird, D.D., p. 42.

that the church may rise?"* Our response is most emphatically in the negative.

Glance at the testimony of the Bible. It is unequivocal. It is decisive. It explodes the modern figment that connexion with the state is repugnant to the idea of the christian church!. It demonstrates, in a word, that if religion is deteriorated by the constitution of the secular with the spiritual powers, it has been subjected to such deterioration, for full four thousand years, under either the direct or the implicit sanction of the Almighty. Every dispensation whether patriarchal, legal, or evangelic has lent its specific authorization. The state-church principle is peculiar to no single economy. It is not the special growth of any epoch. Rather is it a *constant* in the long series of mundane history—an invariable fact amid the revolutions and mutations of the world.

It cannot be concealed that in the primæval polities of the Pentateuchan annals, the respective functions of the patriarchy and the hierarchy were not only *not* deemed incompatible; but rarely or never suffered actual dissociation. During the two millennaries of the patriarchal sway, the father-kings knew of no essential incongruity between duties *civil* and duties sacred. True to the instincts of an exalted piety, at once guileless and simple, they apprehended the *unique* character of all duties—they traced all law to but one source, all obligation to one idea. The spurious division of duties into those which are secular

* National Establishments, by R. Wardlaw, D.D., p. 388.

and those which are sacred, those which are political and those which are religious, as if they were some polar antagonism—some dual strife between the two, was as yet unfeigned. With these worthy presbyters all duties were alike *holy*—all law alike divine. The formal origin of all *government* whether ecclesiastical or political was traced up to its Supreme author. As a tripersonal monotheism constituted a fundamental article of the patriarchal creed, so did it naturally supply a *unitive* principle which reconciled duty with duty. Their stern and simple piety repudiated the anti-state-church notion of there being some irreconcilable diversity—some intrinsic repulsion between different classes of ethical and religious obligations. On the contrary the christian verity that God is *one*, conducted them to the grand conception of the fundamental *unity* of *all* such obligations.

But more in detail. Very early in the history of the race, there may be discovered unmistakeable traces of an established religion, with its sacerdotal, sabbatic, ritual and fiscal institutions. To what date the transaction of Cain and Abel is to be referred, it is impossible precisely to determine—notwithstanding, thus much is certain that it does not pertain to the date of the first or second generations. It clearly presupposes contemporary facts which could not possibly have had existence at so early a period. It most probably should be referred to between 115 and 130 A.M., or in round numbers to the prior half of the second century, A.M. But take the narrative as it stands, and it will be found, that, when carefully consi-

dered, it furnishes several points of great interest in connexion with the incipient church-system of this primæval period, "Abel was" as we read, "a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground. And in process of time it came to pass Cain brought of the fruits of the ground an offering unto the Lord. And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock and of the fat thereof. And the Lord had respect to Abel and to his offering—but unto Cain and to his offering he had not respect. And Cain was very wroth, and his countenance fell, And the Lord said unto Cain, why art thou wroth? and why is thy countenance fallen? If thou doest well shalt thou not be accepted, and if thou doest not well sin lieth at the door."*

Here, then, let it be observed, that the narrative presupposes—

(1.) The existence of a considerable population.†

(2.) The existence of ritual laws respecting the time, the kind, and the quantity of the sacrifice.

(3.) The existence as it seems to us, of a priestly class—a class of men, who as such in part required maintenance in their office.

(4.) The narrative implies that in some instances the tribal chiefs or princes were themselves arch-priests or hierarchs.

* Gen. iv. 2-7, inclusive.

† Ib. 14 verse.

As to the existence of ritual laws, that cannot be doubted, when the circumstances attendant upon the event are closely considered. The offering of sacrifice at all is inexplicable except upon the supposition of a law or laws requiring it. Then, moreover, the sacrifices were made at a prescribed time. "In process of time," or more correctly "at the end of the days," * that is at the expiration of some prescribed period, perhaps at the end of six days, or upon the Sabbath, Cain and Abel, and as we may fairly suppose, all the then inhabitants of the world brought their offerings to the Lord, Cain "of the fruit of the ground," and Abel "of the firstlings of his flock and of the fat thereof." The time was manifestly pre-appointed; as appears from the fact that *both* Cain and Abel, and not one only were found engaged in the same act and at the same time. Then again the *kind* of offering had evidently been predetermined. There was no appearance of anything like individual caprice in the selection of the sacrifice. Each brought his appropriate *minchah*;—the one the bloody, the other the unbloody sacrifice. Nay more, it is added of Abel that he "brought of the firstlings of his flock *and of the fat thereof.*" The ritual was evidently minute. Milton thus describes the act of Abel :—

> ....." a shepherd next,
> More meek, came with the firstlings of his flock,
> Choicest and best: then sacrificing, laid
> *The inwards and their fat, with incense strewed,*
> On the cleft wood, and *all due rites performed.*"†

* *Mĕqĕts yâmim.* Gen. iv. 7; LXX. *μεθ' ἡμέρας.*

† Paradise Lost, Book xi.

But then again as to the *quantity* of the sacrifice, the regulation was equally explicit. The brothers, as is evident, were presenting their tenths or tithes. The case of Cain proves this. His were unaccepted; and why? Partly because of his insincerity—his faithlessness; but partly also because of his sacrilege. He had robbed God. He had not offered in proper quantity. The LXX. translate the seventh verse—*Οὐκ ἐὰν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκῃς, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλῃς, ἥμαρτες ;**—"If thou hast not offered aright, if thou has not divided aright (distributed a true tenth), hast thou not sinned?" Here the guilt of Cain, in part at least, is clearly put. His sin was the sin of sacrilege. Nor can there be any reasonable objection to the version of the Seventy. It was from this version that our Saviour, and his apostles invariably made their citations, and after them most of the apostolic and later fathers. With this rendering of the passage agree both the Samaritan and the Syriac versions. Clemens Romanus† so understood it, as did Philo Judæus, Irenæus und Tertullian. St. Paul seems to have accepted this interpretation, when he wrote—"By faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent *πλείονα θυσίαν*—literally, a *fuller* sacrifice—than Cain."‡ So

* Dr. Nolta, (in Scheiner etc. Zeitschrift für Kath. Theologie, Tom. VI. p. 119,) conjicit legendum esse :—*ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διαθῃς* scil. *τὸ προσφερόμενον, i.e.—si sacrificium, non recte divisisti, optimam partem tibi retinuisti.* Vide Annotat. SS. Patres Apost. Prof. C. J. Hefele, D.D., Tübing.

† *Clementis Epist. ad Corinthios, I., cap.* iv.

‡ Heb. xi. 4. The Vulgate translates it—"*plurimam victimam.*" Luther,—"ein *grösseres* Opfer." Theodore Beza takes

also St Jude who clearly indicates that the sin of Cain was that of avarice.* It is manifest, therefore, that the ante-diluvian Church, was in as far as was then possible, brought into organic connexion with the secular powers. It was supported out of the public wealth, or, which is the same thing, by the compulsory exaction of tithes. Had the payment of tenths been purely voluntary, as some

the same view, and thus interprets the text—"Abelus, per fidem, *majoris pretii sacrificium* obtulit Deo quam Cain." And both Tindal and Wycliffe regard the words, πλείονα θυσίαν, as having reference to the *quantity* of the sacrifice rather than the quality of the act. The former's rendering is—"a more plenteous sacrifice." Nor would this view weaken the Apostle's argument. For it is easy to see how it may happen that by faith one man may surrender to the cause of God a larger amount of his property than another, or how, in the absence of such faith, a man naturally avaricious and selfish may actually fall into the sin only too frequently committed of "withholding more than is meet."

Then too it must be remembered that no stress can be laid upon the employment of the word—θυσία. For θυσία in the Greek and *sacrificium* in the Latin are the common translation of *minchah* in Hebrew, which is the name applied in the original text to the offerings both of Cain and Abel. The LXX. call Cain's oblation of fruits a *sacrifice*—θυσίαν τῷ κυρίῳ Hence the term applies equally to bloody and unbloody offerings.

The truth probably then is, that Cain kept back a portion of the tithes; a view which is incidentally supported by the use of the word *chattâth*, in the phrase "*sin* lieth at the door," which means literally a *default*, a *coming-short*, from *châtâ*, *to come-short*. Other words might have been used as *rĕshă*, or *rĭshâh*, *ăvôn*, *pĕshă*, etc.; but the propriety of the term selected, is instantly apparent, if the view herein advocated be accepted.

* "Woe unto them! for they have gone in the way of Cain, and ran greedily after the error of Balaam *for reward*."—Jude 11 verse.

imagine, Cain would most probably have made no oblation whatsoever; and were it not a tenth that was exacted, it would be impossible to explain how he could have "divided" other than "aright." The tithes were therefore a *legal* exaction.

And here, let it be observed, that without the correlative fact of an ecclesiastical structure the tithe-system is a glaring absurdity. The usufruct of tithes presupposes usufructuaries. As a divine institution, it was intended for the maintenance of a priesthood. In the absence of such priesthood,—in the absence of such ministerial or sacerdotal class, the institution is valueless,—nay even preposterous. That a tenth of all the wealth of the whole population, in sheep, goats, oxen, corn, wine, oil, and fruit should be required, where there was no church, no priesthood, is a folly—an absurdity too gross to be tenable even for a moment. Hence therefore, we are conducted to the conclusion that thus early in the history of the world, there existed a church-organization, with its sacerdotal, sabbatic, ritual, and fiscal institutions. If, as is probable, the patriarchs Cain and Abel themselves discharged the priestly functions, then our principle is established; for in that case the same individuals are found fulfilling the duties on the one hand of a pastoral prince, and on the other of a spiritual hierarch. If not, as is barely possible, still our principle, the principle of church and state is established; for in such a case these secular chieftains were found taxing their several revenues for the support of the then existing

ecclesiastical organization; and this they must be understood to have done, in their public and official capacity.

But to proceed. The Noachian catastrophe inaugurated a new epoch in the history of mankind. All things were ordered *de novo*. Although one fell disaster—one dire and stupendous deluge had swept with terrific, and devastating, and depopulating fury over the face of the then known world until that in the graphic words of the immortal epic,

> ..... "Sea, covered sea,
> Sea without shore, and in their palaces,
> Where luxury late reign'd, sea-monsters whelp'd
> And stabl'd :—"

yet withal it was with the benign intent that out of the shattered ruins of

> "A world devote to universal wrack,"

there might arise a fairer fabric,—a holier constitution—a statelier and more majestic superstructure! Destruction was but the prelude of reformation! All was entombed beneath the seething waters; but only that from this diluvian sepulchre there might start forth a renovated earth! The hissing deluge had swept apace! But it was the world's baptism! The laver of its regeneration—its palingenesia! Henceforth there dated a new era in mundane history. It was, so to say, a second genesis. The race commenced a new career. Life received a fresh impulse. Society was re-constructed! Human institutions remodelled!

What then, are the facts which meet us at the very outset of this most remarkable period? Are they not favourable to our principle? What is the first recorded act of the patriarch upon his egress from the ark? It is that "Noah builded an altar unto the Lord and took of every clean beast and of every clean fowl and offered burnt offerings upon the altar.* Now here, Noah is found discharging purely sacerdotal functions. He had already appeared as the evangelist of the old world,† and now is become the hierarch of the new. Henceforth he figures as the high-priest of the post-diluvian dispensation. Here too there occurs a remarkable and unexpected resemblance between the Noachian and the Judaic rituals. In his priestly character the patriarch seems not to have done anything arbitrarily. On the contrary the Levitical ceremonial was already substantially in existence. Noah, for example, is narrated to have made a difference between the unclean and the clean.‡—We read that he offered "of every clean beast and every clean fowl." In brief, the patriarch scrupulously observed the existing ritual. As a priest, he was punctilious. He carefully followed the ceremonial canons which had been handed down from the

* Gen. viii., 20.

† Cf. 2 Pet. ii.,5. Clemens Romanus declares not only that he preached but that those who heard submissively were delivered. —Νῶε ἐκήρυξεν μετάνοιαν καὶ οἱ ὑπακούσαντες ἐσώθεν— *Epist. ad Cor.* inter *SS. Patres Apostol.* § 7.

‡ "Noachum prædicâsse, sacrificâsse, *munda et immunda discriminatum esse.—Epistolæ Duæ, auctore Thoma Burnetio S.T.P., Lond.* 1726. Cf. Lev. xi., 47.; Gen. viii., 20.

days of the world's protomartyr. For the ante-diluvian was not a rustic age. It was rather the era of an advanced civilization. It had its refinements, its inventions. It boasted its poets,—its musicians,—its prophets, and its preachers. Nor was its church-system a bald, crude, haphazard formation. On the contrary it had the parts of its structure disposed in admirable fitness. Its ritual was evidently circumstantial and minute in its provisions. It would appear that nothing was left to individual arbritration or caprice. All was definite,—all prescribed,—all predetermined. In such a church-organization the priesthood would be a reality,—the distinction between the sacerdotal and the laic classes must have been clearly defined. Of such a class of sacred officers, Noah was now, however, the one remaining representative. He was, therefore, the natural ἀρχιερεὺς of the new constitution. He its chief spiritual pastor.

But he was something more. He was its paternal ruler,—its secular sovereign. And as such he was the embodiment of the state-church principle. For in him were vested the supreme authority whether in matters civil or religious ;—an authority, which it may be added he continued to wield for three-and-a-half centuries subsequently to the event of the deluge.* So that however unimportant this combination of offices may have been in the first instance, it must have developed into something very like Church and State long ere the lapse of so protracted a

* Gen. ix., 28.

period. In a word, had the illustrious patriarch been a Japanese Mikaddo, or a Dalai Lama, he could not more really, nor more practically have represented the particular principle, which in these pages, is sought to be established.

Nor was this union in the same person of princely and priestly functions a merely transient phenomenon. On the contrary it continued up to the time of the Israelitish exodus. This is in fact, remarkably illustrated in the instance of Melchizedek, who added to the regal the sacerdotal office. For in the sacred narrative he is described as "*King* of Salem,"* and "*priest* of the most high God." Nay even the patriarch Abram did not dispute his claim to being the priest of Jehovah, for on his return from his victory over the kings with the spoils of war, it is recorded that "*he gave him tithes of all.*"† Indeed Melchizedek claimed this as his inalienable right: for St. Paul distinctly declares that "he *tithed*–δεδεκάτωκε–Abraham."‡ And yet this very Melchizedek—this very king-priest is selected as the type of the Messiah. "The Lord hath sworn and will not repent," saith the Psalmist, "Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek." Here then two things are certain. First that the Melchizedecan priesthood was an established priesthood; and secondly, that the Christian priesthood was its normal antitype.

* Afterwards named Jeru-salem.

† "*Vayyittěn-lô măăsēr mikkol*"—Gen. xiv. 20.

‡ Heb. vii. 6.

But the Josephian policy is equally conclusive in the same direction. Sacerdotalism, as is well known, had impressed its peculiar character upon the learning, the legislation, and the civilization of ancient Egypt. Its church was established. Its hierarchy was baronial. Its priests sat with the legislature. In a word, Joseph was called upon, in the order of the divine providence, to administer the affairs of a great empire, which incorporated into its structure the principle of church and state. Nor was this state-church under any kind of theocratic supervision: so that, if this were the sole condition, without which every state-religion is "a hoax" and "an abomination," the state-religion of the Pharaohs unquestionably fell within the comprehension of this so severe and so unqualified a censure. *It* also was "a hoax" and "an abomination"—a "life-destroying upas."* But, if so—if in the first instance the state-church principle was mischievous and injurious except under the conditions already specified, and if consequences necessarily flowed from its adoption inimical to national progress and destructive of liberty—if, in fine, "homage, the most indirect, paid to a state church is, in essence, the recognition of falsehood, and the worship of a lie"†—then surely it becomes of the utmost importance to know what was the attitude taken up by the illustrious and pious Hebrew, towards this African establishment. As the Psalmist informs us, his especial mission in Egypt was that "he might inform his (Pharaoh's) princes after his

* Edward Miall. † Ib.

will, and teach his senators wisdom."* And what was "the *wisdom*" which he taught them? What, in a word, was his policy? Was it adverse to the hierarchy? Did he, like a wily "Liberationist," seek to inflict a deadly blow upon the union? Did his legislation contemplate its dissolution? Emphatically, no! On the contrary, when the famine had reached its climax, and the Egyptians had been reduced to exchange their movables for supplies of corn, there followed, with but one exception, a universal transfer of the landed property. The free proprietors were destroyed. Pharaoh became lord paramount of the soil. All the Egyptians, however exalted their political rank, were reduced to hold their lands at a fixed annual rental, as tenants of the crown.—one class of the King's subjects, and but one, enjoying exemption from this otherwise universal transfer. And who were they, in whose favour the illustrious Egyptian financier made so marked and signal an exception? Strange to say—strange we mean on the theory of his favouring anti-state-churchism—they were the priests†—the very class of men whom, upon such a theory, he should fearlessly and boldly have denounced —the very upholders of an establishment, which, had he not been a state-churchman himself, he must rather have sought to shatter, demolish, and destroy. Most certainly, therefore, the administration of the patriarch Joseph, who was at once a prophet, an interpreter of dreams, and a prescient and an astute statesman, must

* Psalm cv. 22. Prayer Book Version.

† Gen. xlix. 19—26.

be taken as a most valuable testimony to the universal and unrestricted applicability of the great principle of church-and-state.

But as if the examples of the patriarchal times were not sufficiently conclusive, there is presented to us in the history of the Jewish nation—the history of a boldly-defined state-church :—a state-church too which owed its origin, *not* to monarchical piety, *nor* to the towering ambition of priests ; but solely and entirely to the express decree of the omniscient and infallible JEHOVAH.

Immediately prior to the publication of the law from Mount Sinai, the general terms of the Judaic constitution had been defined to the great law-giver :—" Say unto the house of Jacob, and tell to the children of Israel,.....ye shall be unto me *a kingdom of priests*, and *a holy nation.*"* Now, what was to be understood by such declarative? The question is of the more importance as from similar expressions in the writings of the Apostles, Dr. Angus, with other nonconformists, has argued to the startling conclusion that, under the Christian dispensation—" there was to be no priest, no people ; no clergy, no laity ; no rabbi or father, no scholar or son." † It is further declared,—that " the term ' clergy,' which in ecclesiastical phraseology is applied to the ministerial order in distinction from the laity, is applied by the Apostle Peter to the Christian

* Exodus xix. 6.

† Christian Churches (Prize Essay) p. 8.

community at large (I. Peter v. 3), who are, therefore, God's heritage (as the word 'clergy' means); and Paul calls upon his readers, by virtue of their priestly character, to make intercession for himself and for all men."* Now, if from phraseology, such as that already cited, the inference is legitimate, that, in the New Testament church, there existed no clerical class—no separate ministry; then certainly the validity of a like conclusion respecting the Judaic state-church cannot be denied from a similar class of passages occurring in the Old Testament Scriptures.†

But here, however, the absurdity of the inference becomes conspicuous: for, in no ecclesiastical polity, was the distinction between priesthood and people,—clerie and laic, more decisively made, or more jealously maintained. If therefore, the inference is invalid in respect of the Judaic church-system; then assuredly it must be held, in like manner, to be invalid in respect of the Christian church-system.

The declarative, therefore, must rather be regarded as a general enunciation of the archetypal Christian concept of the compatibility of political with religious relations. Its fundamental idea is that, which underlies every state-church structure, of the reconciliation of spiritual and temporal,—the unification, in brief, of duties, whatever the province to which they may happen to pertain. Now

* Christian Churches, by J. Angus, D.D., M.R.A.S., p. 9.

† Compare Exodus xix. 6; Deut. xxxii. 9; Isaiah liii. 12; Zech. ii. 12.

this idea is variously and elaborately inwrought into the ethics of the Bible. It is the same idea which forbids monasticism, or the loss of *the man* in the worshipper on the one hand; and upon the other forbids worldliness, or the separation of the civil from that which is sacred. The priesthood must be made "royal," lest it should subside into asceticism; the nation, "holy" lest it should subside into an irreligious and dronish secularism. The two elements must be blended. The church must not be severed from all relations with the world. The church needs the world, and the world needs the church.

The outline, however, having been thus suggestively sketched, the details were forthwith filled in, in a manner, the most admirable; and with a prevision, the most exact. And thus arose that splendid ecclesiastical structure—the state-church of ancient Jewry, which involved in its organization nearly every principle which can make a state-church obnoxious to those who oppugn its constructive principle. In the first instance the republican notion of *equality* was studiously excluded. Its priesthood was hierarchical. Here was inequality. There were the high-priest, chief-priest, arch-priest or pontiff;* the "sons of Aaron," or "the priests;"† and thirdly and lastly, the Levites.† And what was still more remarkable, was, that these sacred offices were made strictly *hereditary*.

* *Hăkkôhĕn hăggâdhôl* or ἀρχιερεὺς.

† *B'nê ăhărôn hăkkohănim*—Num. iii. 3. II. Chron. xxxi. 19.

‡ *Hall'viyyim*—Numbers iii. 9.

Even the Pontificate afforded no exception. Eleazer succeeded Aaron his father, and Eli in like manner succeeded Eleazer. Here there was, as is evident, nothing like popular suffrage. The people had no voice in the selection of their spiritual guides. It was evidently not deemed by the Almighty to be an injustice, that, even in a matter of so much importance, the people should be left destitute of voice and vote. Here, at least, the *plebis suffragium* had no existence.

Nor is it less significant, as a fact, that the maintenance of the priesthood was not abandoned to the voluntary principle. Upon the other hand, the hierarchy was maintained by *legal exactions* in dignity, and even splendour. Their influence was applied, and their canon-law enforced, at all the more important social foci. There existed no fewer than *forty-eight* Levitical, or diocesan cities," with their suburbs.* These were so many ecclesiastical centres. Each possessed a resident priesthood, having *territorial* jurisdiction; and in each of these ecclesiastical districts, or sees, these clergy realised an ample revenue in "tithes and offerings." A *tenth* of the wealth of the Jewish nation was theirs by constitutional and inalienable right.†

* Numbers xxxv. 1—8.

† "And all the tithes of the land, whether of the seed of the land, or of the fruit of the tree, is the Lord's; it is holy unto the Lord."....." And concerning the tithe of the herd or of the flock, even of whatsoever passeth under the rod, *the tenth shall be holy unto the Lord*.....These are the commandments which the Lord

Then further it was the duty of the civil magistrate to put the ecclesiastical laws into execution. The royal proclamations of Hezekiah are familiar to all.* It will be remembered how this pious monarch "*commanded* the people.....to give the portion of the priests and the Levites that they might be encouraged in the law of the Lord." Indeed the maintenance of the national church was secured both in fact and in theory not otherwise than by *legal exaction.*

It is frequently urged, however, that civil rulers, as if by some official calamity, are wholly incompetent to the work of religious legislation. Now, our reply to this objection is, that from first to last, in the history of the Mosaic state-policy, the civil governors were deemed competent by an authority which cannot err. They systematically interposed their authority in matters of religion. Dr. Wardlaw has asserted that, "the province of the ruler in matters of religion is, *to have no province at all.*" But, certainly this was not the opinion of the venerable founder of the Hebrew polity;—nay more, it was not the view taken on the subject by the infallible judgment of the Supreme. God thought otherwise. In the first instance, Moses, a civil ruler, was commissioned by the Almighty

commanded Moses for the children of Israel in Mount Sinai."—Leviticus xxvii. 30, 32, 34. "And behold, I have given the children of Levi *all the tenth in Israel for an inheritance,* for their service, which they serve."*.....It shall be a statute for ever.*"—Numbers xviii. 21, 24, 26. Compare Proverbs iii. 9; II. Chron. xxxi. 5, 6, 12; Malachi iii. 8—10; Nehemiah xiii. 12.

* II. Chron. xxxi.

Jehovah, to consecrate and institute to the sacerdotal office.* Is it said, that he had received a special divine commission authorizing such procedure? Yet withal, it must be admitted that such special commission had been confided to a *civil ruler*, and, therefore, to one, who, as such was utterly incompetent (on the theory of our opponents) to its appropriate execution. Then again, at Mount Ebal, Joshua, his valiant successor, the conqueror of one and thirty kings, is found rehearsing before all Israel the benedictions and maledictions of the law.† Nay further, it was also under his dictatorship that the Levitical distribution of the conquered territory was first accomplished. So that his entire policy contemplated not less the *spiritual* than the material interests of the Jewish Commonwealth.

In like manner, the Suffetes or Judges exercised jurisdiction in causes ecclesiastic. The only female who attained to the Judicial throne was "a prophetess."‡ The first and last of the recorded acts of the famous Gideon, during his judicature, were acts of civil interference in matters of religion.§ While the last two judges were

* Comp. Exod. xxviii., xxix. ; Lev. viii. ; and Numb. viii.

† *Eth mîshnēh tôrăth môshĕh*]—*Repitition*em *legis Mosaicæ.* Intelligendæ sunt *benedictiones*, Deut. xxviii, 1-14, et *maledictions.* Ibid xxvii, 15-26, xxviii. 15-68, Comm. Gramm. Hist. Crit. in Vetus Test. scripsit F. J. V. D. Maurer, Ph.D., vol. i., p. 110.
Joshua xxi., Cf. Numb. xxxv. 1-8, 1 Chron. vi. 54-81.

‡ Judges iv. 4.

§ Judges vi. 22-32 ; Ibid. viii. 24-27.

not warriors but *priests*,—the one being a prophet and the other, a pontiff.

And similarly under the monarchy. David, for example did not think religion alien from the regal functions ;* but contrariwise. He ordered the fetching of the ark from Kerjath-jearim to Obed-edom, and from Obed-edom to Jerusalem ; he prepared a tabernacle for its reception, arranged the order of its attendant ministration, and even aspired to erect the magnificent temple, the erection of which was reserved as the magnum opus of the not less brilliant reign of his successor in the throne. It was David too, who distributed the priests and Levites, the singers and porters "into courses" and orders, and who, in a word, re-organized the temple-service. His reign was in fact a splendid episcopate. Nor was that of his illustrious son any the less remarkably illustrative of the happy effects which may take their origin from royal interposition in matters of religion.

It has been affirmed, that "there was under the Jewish constitution no such thing as human legislation"—and that "to no magistrate, did that economy commit any such right."† But the flagrant inaccuracy of such a statement places it almost beneath reply. The Hebrew monarchs as must have already appeared, had both the right and the power to prescribe whatever seemed in their opinion

* 1 Chron. xxii, ; xxiii. 1-26, Comp. chaps. xxiii., xxiv., xxv., and xxvi.

† National Establishments, by Dr. Wardlaw, p. 108.

likely to promote the interests of true religion. Witness the important ecclesiastical reforms of David. Witness the deposition of Abiathar from the pontifical throne.* Witness the conduct of Asa, who sought the extirpation of idolatry (an ecclesiastical act) and the testimony left upon record that he—"did that which was good and right in the eyes of the Lord his God." † And witness the many religious acts of Jehoshaphat,‡ Jehu,§ Uzziah, Jotham, Hezekiah, and Josiah, as a more than complete refutation of the absurdity of the objection that the Jewish monarchs could not legislate.

* 1 Kings, ii. 27.

† 2 Chronicles xiv. 2-5. ; and ch. xv.

‡ 2 Chron. xvii.

§ 2 Chron. xxvii, 8. ; 2 Kings, x.

Chapter VII.

THE ARGUMENT FROM SCRIPTURE.

It must be remembered, however, that the scriptural evidence in favour of state-churchism is not solely derived from the history, either of the Patriarchs upon the one hand, or of the Jewish nation upon the other. There is happily ample proof, derivable from collateral sources, of the principle that state interference or rather intervention in the affairs of religion is not only fitting, but obligatory, and that *universally.* This is seen, in the instance of Pul, one of the Kings of the First Assyrian Empire, who, as such, was unquestionably under no duty of obedience to the ecclesiastical provisions of the Mosaic constitution—no, not even to the extent of the most formal patronage of religion. Here, to say the least, there was no theocracy. And yet, when the prophet predicted the proximate overthrow of the mighty metropolis of the empire, this monarch was not slow to discover his duty. Had he con-

soled himself with the soothing illusion that, in his kingly capacity, he had nothing whatsoever to do with religion, Nineveh must inevitably have perished,—the great capital must have been "overthrown." But it was not so. Pul together with his nobles, not content with their own personal contrition and humiliation, issued an edict, enforcing a general Fast, and commanding his subjects to cover themselves and their beasts with sackcloth,* and to "cry mightily unto God," and "turn every one from his evil way." Here the subject was not left to his own choice. The edict was compulsory. It constituted, on anti-state church principles, an arbitrary violation of the liberty of conscience of the great Assyrian populations. But how did God regard the event? It is written, "and God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way.....and repented of the evil, that he had said that he would do unto them; and he did it not."

And similarly under the kings of the *second* Assyrian

* Rosenmüller comments thus:—"Quod jumenta quoque saccis operiunda ex regis jussu scriptor narrat, forsan intelligi voluit de equis, mulis et camelis, qui pretiosis integumentis ornari solent. His itaque detractis vilia imposita fuisse. ut hodie, sicut et olim, teste Chrysostomo, in funeribus nobilium equi generosi, quibus defuncti usi sunt, panno nigro induuntur, ut simul lugere videantur."—in Jona iii., 7. The edict was as follows:—"*Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock taste anything, let them not feed nor drink water* (Cf. Virg. Eclog., v., 24,); *but let man and beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily to God—let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands. Who can tell, if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger that we perish not.*"—Jonah iii, 7, 8, 9.

Empire. In Nebuchadnezzar the Great, history presents us with one who was, to all intents and purposes, a religious king. Even as a pagan and as a persecutor he was conscientious and devout. Consequently, one of his earliest acts, upon his return from Judea, contemplated the legal establishment of idolatry, or, in other words, of the faith, which at the period in question, he regarded with a pious, although at the same time, a superstitious veneration. But he was soon to be undeceived. The intolerant and cruel decree was defeated in its iniquitous design. The scorpion was crushed in the egg, and the monarch was brought face to face with his own daring profanity. He stood self-discovered. And what was the consequence? He changed his creed in the first instance. But his state-policy survived the shock. He still felt it to be his duty to legislate in favour of that particular religion, of the truth of which he was become seriously convinced. And hence a *second edict*, this time in favour, *not* of idolatry, but of the worship of the Most High God. Nor is it unworthy of remark that, although the first Nebuchadnezzaran edict excited the stoutest resistance upon the part of the Hebrew captives then at Babylon: yet that the second, which was equally with the first, a state-church production, elicited no antagonism whatsoever,—not even to the extent of the mildest or faintest protest.

Nor again, should it be forgotten, what was the secret of the decadence and final subversion of the Assyrian empire. Philosophic historians doubtless have their own elect theories, and they are most welcome to them. Much

as it may offend against a miserable, atheistic method of historic study, we are compelled, with the Book of Daniel as our guide, to conclude that the only too practical separation of the civil from that which is truly sacred—the only too lamentable absence of monarchical and regal piety, conducted the nation, in the reign of the impious Belshazzar, to an issue scarcely less disastrous than that which threatened it in the days when the prophet Jonah cried in the streets of its ancient metropolis, "yet forty days and Nineveh shall be overthrown." Those who profess the profane belief that religion and politics,—that the state and the church—are alien and incompatible, should ponder deeply the words of Daniel—a statesman and a seer,—when in no dubious mood he discovered to the terrified and debauched monarch the true theory of his already imminent and inglorious doom—"Thou O Belshazzar.....hast praised the Gods of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, and the God in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways, HAST THOU NOT GLORIFIED." Here, then, the conclusion is inevitable. Belshazzar's sin was two-fold. He erred first *positively* in that he lent the sanction of his royal authority to polytheism and idolatry—"thou O Belshazzar,...hast praised the Gods of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood and stone;" and he erred *negatively*, in that he had not lent such sanction to that purer and more refined faith, with which, through the illustrious members of the captivity, it was his duty to have made himself acquainted—"and the God in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways, hast thou *not* glorified."

But the history of state-intervention in the concernments of religion does not end here. Babylon had passed into other hands; but the principle of church and state continued notwithstanding to operate, and to receive *when wisely directed* as heretofore the sanction of the Highest Moral Authority in the universe! The religious "decrees" of Darius Cyaxares were very probably issued at the suggestion of the venerable and aged Daniel,* and his influence may in like manner be traced in "the famous edict" which was issued by Cyrus the Persian. This latter document was in several respects remarkable. In the first instance, it gave "the ascendency" to the Mosaic Faith; in the next, it authorized the re-edification of the temple at Jerusalem; and lastly, it ceded a substantial endowment out of the public treasury. In effect, the Magian creed was replaced by the Mosaic;—the dualism of Zoroaster by the evangelism of Isaiah, and the morals of the Zendavesta by the ethics of the Pentateuch. Here was "state patronage." Here was state-churchism. And yet the royal patron was a Persian, *not* a Hebrew,—a Gentile, and not a Jew. Certainly, if a state-church practice were wrong anywhere, it must be admitted to have been so here. Here was no theocracy. Here were no Sinaitic institutions. And yet, if the illustrious Cyrus actually did trespass beyond his legitimate province, it is not a little singular, that it should be recorded by Ezra, that "the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus King of Persia that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom."†

* Daniel vi. 25-28. † Ezra i. 1.

That there were Dissidents, cannot be denied; but, they were not to be found among the Hebrew exiles. The malcontents were they of Samaria,—Babalonians, Elamites, and Susanchites. Cyrus, however, was deaf to their remonstrances. But not so, his two immediate successors. Cambyses—the Ahashuerus of Ezra, although he "did not openly revoke the edict of his father Cyrus, in great measure frustrated its intent;"* while Smerdis the Magian—the Artaxerxes of Ezra,† anxious to conceal the imposture by which he had effected the usurpation of the vacant throne, lent even a solicitous attention to the representations of the Samaritans, and ultimately in answer to their "letter," sent to command the Jews to cease from their work of re-edification and re-construction.‡ So that it would appear, that the worse the king the better the success of Samaritan dissent.

But such dissidence was soon to receive a check. For on the accession of Darius Hystaspes, as the result of a search "in the house of the rolls" at "Achmetha" (Ecbatana) for the decree of Cyrus, that monarch very considerably extended the privileges and immunities of the Jewish people. "I make a decree"—wrote the king—"what ye shall do to the elders of these Jews for the building of this house of God; that *of the King's goods, even of the tribute beyond the river, forthwith expenses be given unto these men*, that they be not hindered. And that which they have need of, both young bullocks, and rams, and lambs, for the burnt-offerings of the God of

* M. Rollin. † Ezra iv. 7. ‡ Ezra iv. 7-24.

heaven, wheat, salt, wine, and oil, according to the appointment of the priests which are at Jerusalem, *let it be given them day by day without fail*; that they may offer sacrifices of sweet savours unto the God of Heaven, and pray for the life of the King, and of his sons."* Imagine the effect of such a decretal. Colonists from Babylon, from Susa, from Avah, and from Elymais, were put under "tribute" for the support of a religion which they now held in extreme abhorrence. Worshippers of Bel, Nebo, Tartak, and Adrammelech were compelled, by Medo-Persian law, to supply sacrifices and oblations "day by day"—*yôm bĕyôm*—to the altars of Jehovah. Idolaters were made to supply "the burnt offerings" of "the God of Heaven." Men of one religion were taxed for the sustentation of another. In fact, there is not an argument against tithes and church-rates, which might not have been applied against the decree of Darius; and yet withal there was nothing in such decree at all at variance with the Divine ethics; but contrariwise. For Ezra distinctly declares that "the Lord had .....turned the King of Assyria unto them, to strengthen their hands in the work of the house of God, the God of Israel."†

* Ezra vi. 8-11. Hitzig in his Prolegomena (*Vor-bemerkungen*) to the prophecy by Haggai states that the building of the temple was completed in the sixth year of the reign of Hystaspes, Zachariah being prophet, that is, in March of the year B.C. 515. "Kurze Zeit nach Haggai war auch Sacharja aufgetreten, gleicherweise den Bau fördernd, *welcher, am 3 Adar des 6. Regierungsjahres des Darius, d.i., ungefähr im März d. J. 515. v. Chr., vollendet wurde.*"—*Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten, erklärt von Prof. Dr. Hitzig, Ph.D., D.D., Leipsig*, 1838, p. 281.

† Ezra vi. 22.

But perhaps the most remarkable case of state-churchism, is that of Artaxerxes Longimanus.* This monarch's preference for the Judaic faith was neither dubiously nor timidly exhibited. On the contrary, he exceeded all previous enactments in its favour. He completed what Cyaxares II., Cyrus, and Darius Hystaspes had only imperfectly essayed. They had aided in the reconstruction of the temple at Jerusalem; but the various edicts of Artaxerxes really contemplated no less an issue than the reconstruction of church and state among the Jews. In the first instance Ezra was appointed *hattirshatha*† in succession to Zerubbabel, and now note the terms of his royal commission—

"Artaxerxes, King of Kings, unto Ezra the priest, a scribe of the law of the God of heaven, perfect peace, and at such a time.

"I make a decree, that all they of the people of Israel, and of his priests and Levites in my realm, which are minded of their own free-will to go up to Jerusalem, go with thee. For as much as thou art sent of the King, and of his seven counsellors, to enquire concerning Judah and Jerusalem, according to the law of thy God which is

* "Surnamed *Longimanus*, because his right hand was longer than his left. He was the son of Xerxes."—*Plutarch in Artaxerx.* Cf. Herod. lib III., 88-160. Themistocles was his courtier; Nehemiah his cup-bearer; and Esther his queen. He was the Ahashuerus of the Book of Esther.

† *Hattirshatha*—a Persian word, always with the article,—Ezra ii. 63., Nehem. vii. 65.,—a royal deputy or governor.

in thine hand; and to carry the silver and gold which the King and his counsellors have freely offered unto the God of Israel, whose habitation is in Jerusalem—that thou mayest buy speedily with this money bullocks, rams, lambs, with their meat offerings, and their drink offerings, and offer them upon the altar of the house of your God, which is in Jerusalem. And whatsoever shall seem good to thee, and to thy brethren to do with the rest of the silver and the gold, that do after the will of your God. The vessels also that are given thee for the service of the house of thy God, those deliver thou before the God of Jerusalem. And whatsoever more shall be needful for the house of thy God, which thou shalt have occasion to bestow, bestow it out of the King's treasure-house."

"And I, even I, Artaxerxes the King, do make a decree to all the treasurers which are beyond the river, (west of the Euphrates) that whatsoever Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, shall require of you, it be done speedily, and to an hundred measures of wheat, and to an hundred baths of wine, and to an hundred baths of oil, and salt without prescribing how much. Whatsoever is commanded by the God of heaven, let it be diligently done for the house of the God of heaven—for why should there be wrath against the realm of the King, and his sons."

"Also we certify you, that touching any of the Priests and Levites, Singers, Porters, Nethinims, or Ministers of the house of God, it shall not be lawful to impose toll, tribute, or custom upon them."

"And thou Ezra, after the wisdom of thy God, that is in thine hand, set magistrates and judges, which may judge all the people beyond the river, all such as know the laws of thy God, and teach ye them that know them not."

"And whosoever will not do the law of thy God, and the law of thy King, let judgment be executed speedily upon him, whether it be unto death, or to banishment, or to the confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment."*

Nor was this the last instance of Persian state-church legislation. Other equally important epistolary mandates were issued by Artaxerxes subsequently to the death of the venerable "scribe,"—mandates requiring the support of Judaism by enforced taxation—the taxation, be it remembered, of Parthians, Medes, Assyrians, Armenians, and many other pagan populations. But yet, it may be asked, was such legislation just? Was it equitable? Was it right that idolaters should be taxed for the sustentation of Judaism? Right, that, in addition to the support of their own religionism, they should be compelled, coërced, into the support of an establishment, in whose privileges they had no participation; and against whose dogmas and rituals, they entertained the most settled and determined opposition? Again, it is asked, was such an arrangement equal? The anti-state-churchman would answer most emphatically in the negative. But what was the judgment of the inspired penman? Strangely different, it is true.

* Ezra vii. 10-27.

For Ezra thus speaks of the decree of Artaxerxes :— "Blessed be the Lord of our fathers, *which hath put such a thing as this into the King's heart*, to beautify the house of the Lord which is at Jerusalem; and *hath extended mercy unto me, before the King, and his counsellors, and before the King's mighty princes.*"* And Nehemiah, in like manner, contemplating a subsequent act of favour granted by the same imperial monarch, is recorded to have exclaimed :—"and the King granted me, *according to the good hand of my God upon me.*"†

And now it remains to be shown, why pagan monarchs like Pul, Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Darius the Mede, Cyrus, Darius Hystaspes, and Artaxerxes Longimanus, may interpose their royal authority in matters of religion, and not Constantine or Theodosius. It must be admitted there was nothing *special* in the circumstances of these rulers, with the exception, perhaps, of the illustrious Cyrus. They had not like Moses received any *special* authority to legislate on questions of conscience. They were under no special theocratic supervision. It remains, we repeat, to be shown, why if a succession of Assyrian and Medo-Persian Kings may give practical expression to their state-church principles and convictions, not only with impunity, but with the distinct approval of Jehovah,—it should be wrong to imitate their example upon the part of a Latin emperor, a Russian czar, a German prince, or an English king. It remains to be shown how a policy which has received the sanction of an Ezra and a Nehemiah, has come

* Ezra vii. 27-28. † Nehem. ii. 8.

to be metamorphosed into a political monstrosity which it has become "*a sacred mission*" to denounce. Pray, how comes it to pass, that the virtues of one age are the vices of the next? The truths of the one, the errors of the other? What is there, we demand, in this last epoch of mundane history, which can make it so much too wise, and too enlightened to cherish with reverence institutions, which have come down to us with the sanction of a venerable and hoary antiquity?

But it may be asked, is not the evangelical system, with its stern, inornate ethics of self-sacrifice, essentially antagonistic to an ostentatious hierarchical and politico-religious organization? In a word, is not the pure spiritualism of the New Testament repugnant to state relations? Most assuredly, *not*. Look at the *practical sanction*, which was given by Christ and his immediate followers to the constructive principle of state-churchism. He was not, in any true sense, a nonconformist. The then national church of the Jewish people, was in many respects corrupt,—comprehending, as it did, the Pharisee with his formalism, and the Sadducee with his scepticism. But yet, it is not a little remarkable, that, in the very face of these notorious facts, our Lord saw no reason for any act of ecclesiastical separatism. He created no schism. He preached no Dissent. But upon the contrary he remained during his whole earthly life attached to the Jewish communion.* In brief, our Saviour attended the public

* Luke iv. 16.—κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ—κτλ.

service,* taught in the synagogues,† accredited the authority of the priesthood,‡ and submitted to the ordinances of, a state-establishment.§ Nay more, He even paid church-rates. For on his return with St. Peter to Capernaum, He wrought a miracle in order that they both might be able to pay "the tribute," temple-tax, or church-rate for the support of the national religion.‖ And in like manner, when urged upon to identify himself with the opponents of the Roman census or capitation tax, he uttered that memorable precept—"Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."¶ And yet, our Saviour must have known full well that a portion of such capitation tax would be employed by the imperial government in the support of a pagan establishment. But it may be asked, did he not, by such a course of conduct, implicate himself in the issue?—did he not, thereby,—in the self same act, lend his sanction "to the establishment of paganism?" Our reply is, certainly not.

* Matt. xxvi. 55. † John xviii. ; Luke iv. 15.

‡ Matt. xxiii. 2, 3. § Luke xxii. 8.

‖ Matt. xvii. 27.—The sum taken was a stater or *two didrachma*, the amount of the tax both for himself and Peter. The temple-tax – a didrachmon—τὸ δίδραχμον or double drachm was of the value of two Attic drachms, the Attic drachm being of the same value with the Roman *denarius*. It was also equal to the half-shekel, (Exod. xxx. 13.) or *sicius* of the Jews, in value about 1s. 3½d. The *stater* (εὑρήσεις στατῆρ—Matt. xvii. 27.), or Grecian coin taken from the mouth of the fish, would therefore, equal about 2s. 7d., in English money.

¶ Matt. xxii. 21.

It was to the Roman government, as a government, that he paid "the tribute"; and to the polytheistic establishment, as an establishment, abstractedly considered, that he yielded a measure of support. For the *character* of either he could not possibly be held responsible. And St. Paul, following the example of our Lord, charged the converts at Rome "to pay tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom."* And these facts are the more remarkable, when the *silence* of the New Testament scriptures on this subject is taken into consideration. Had anything very decided and positive been written, it would have needlessly exposed the christians of that age to the charge of sedition. It would have been argued from their own documents, that they were covertly a sect of revolutionaries, who only sought under a feint of religion to subvert the institutions of society. But it was more presciently arranged. Although much in the New Testament is anticipative—comprehending in its view dangers and contingencies, which only the prescience of the Divine Spirit could have discovered in the then future of the church's history;—yet withal there is nowhere to be found in the teachings of Christ or his Apostles a single premonition—a single caution—a single precept against the then not far distant revival of state-churchism in connexion with the name of Christianity.

But further, a vexatious error lurks in this appeal to the documents of the Later against those of the Elder

* Rom. xiii. 7.—τῷ τὸν φόρον, τὸν φόρον κ.τ.λ.—φόρος *directe Steuer*? τέλος, *vectigal, Zoll.*—De Wette.

Testament. There is in fact, no such diversity in respect of principles, between the evangelic and anterior religious dispensations. Christianity is not a Syrian invention of the first century. It is as old as the world. Substantially there is nothing novel either in its ethics, or theology. And a moment's consideration will show it *must* be so. For religion is absolutely unique. It is not one thing in the antediluvian age, and another in the postdiluvian. Strictly speaking Judaism is not one religion and Christianity another. Hugo Grotius is more accurate when he speaks of the Christian religion as the perfection of the Judaic—"*Christiana, quæ Judaicæ quasi perfectio est.*"* It must be admitted that the very concepts and creeds—the very habitudes of intellect and heart, which constitute so large a part of subjective and experimental christianity must have informed all true piety in all ages. The conditions of religious life within the soul of man, are constant amid all mutations. Indeed, it cannot self-consistently be denied that the religion of all holy men in every age, either possessed all the characteristic features of Christianity, or was no religion at all, but only a miserable and soul-destroying delusion. Judaism, and the older patriarchal faiths are, therefore, one with the gospel of Jesus Christ. They were but the Evangelism of the New under the types of the Elder Testament.

But it has been shown that religion in these earlier epochs was actually brought into relations with the secular powers. Then at least the church was a state-church. In

* *De Veritate*, lib: I. § 14.

the Judaic period for example, the church organization was politico-religious,—and that, be it remembered, *not* by chance, not by the will of man, but by the explicit command of the Divine Author of the Gospel. Well then, what is the inevitable inference? This, to be sure, that, in these earlier periods of its history, to say the least, the Christian Church was, in every sense of the phrase, a national church,—and that without the compromise of a single distinctive principle. And if this were *once* a possible case,—why not always? Has Christianity changed,—that a connexion between the church and the state which it once admitted, should have reached in our own day the last degree of moral unfitness and incongruity? Is it become a something alien from its former self? Because if not, then the antagonism, which has been declared to exist between the secular and spiritual powers, is not other than imaginary and supposititious.

But not only has the principle of church and state been already embodied in the past history of the Christian Church; but it is also destined to be yet more admirably inwrought into its prophetic future. For "thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will lift up my hand to the Gentiles, and set up my standard to the people; and they shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders. And kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nursing mothers."* "The gentiles

* "That is" observes the Rev. Albert Barnes an American *Dissenter*, "they would *patronize* the Church of God; *they would protect it by their laws, and foster it by their influence*, and become

shall come to thy light, *and kings* to the brightness of thy rising."* "The sons of strangers shall build up thy walls, *and their kings shall minister unto thee.*" † "Thou shalt also suck the milk of the Gentiles, *and thou shalt suck the breast of kings*.....I will also make thy officers peace, and thine exactors righteousness."‡ But the Psalmist is not less glowing in his description of the Church's golden and triumphant future. "Because of thy temple at Jerusalem," he exclaims, "shall kings bring presents unto thee"..... "Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hand unto God."§..."The kings of Tarshish

the personal advocates of the cause of Zion.....The sense is, that kings and princes would evince the same tender care for the interests of the people of God, which a parent or a nurse does for a child. It is needless to say that this has been already to a considerable extent fulfilled, and that many princes and monarchs have been the patrons of the church, though doubtless it is destined to a more ample fulfilment in the brighter days of this world's history." *Comm. in loco.*

* Isaiah lx. 3.

† Ibid lx. 10.

‡ Ibid lx. 16, 17. "Novæ civitati Jova præter alia bona tribuit *justos magistratus*, cives virtutis studiosos, securitatem, amplissimam progeniem."—MAURER, Comm. in loco. "The idea is," says Barnes, that righteousness would prevail in every department of the *Church and the state*.

§ Psalm lxviii. 29. (Heb. text 30.) Maurer takes the passage rather differently. He thinks the earlier clause of the verse must be construed with verse 29. Thus: *Mêchêbhâlêkha al yĕrûshâlâm* —Because of thy temple, etc.] Ex palatio, templo *tuo super Hierosolymis*, immimente Hierosolymis! *Tibi offerant reges munera.* Hemistichium prius manifeste construendum est cum, *uzzah*, vs.

and of the isles shall bring presents,—the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts. Yea, *all kings* shall fall down before him, all nations shall serve him."* Nay more, the Psalmist not only predicts, but premonishes :—" Be wise now therefore, O ye kings, be instructed, ye judges of the earth, serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with

29. in hunc nexum ; potentem te præsta.. ...*ex palatio tuo* cet. Cf. vs. 36. et 110, 2."

Nevertheless, as it appears to us, the construction observed in the Authorised Version is decidedly preferable.—" Languidum, si quid aliud, est quod plerisque placuit *Propter templum*.....*Tibi offerent* rel."

Luther translates the passage,..." *Um* deines Tempels *willen* zu Jerusalem werden, dir die Könige Geschenke zuführen." So the Prayer Book Version—" For thy temple's sake at Jerusalem, so shall kings bring presents unto thee."

Ibid, lxviii. 31. " David foretels, that on the establishment of the then church and worship in Jerusalem, the Kings of the Gentiles should come, and make their oblations at the temple of God, (the tabernacle is called *hêbhâl*, 1 Sam. iii. 3., or "temple,") which happened in his days, and those of his son, *as an earnest and figure of that plenary accession of the kings of the earth to the* Church of Christ, which was to take place in the latter days under the gospel."—BISHOP HORNE.

* Psalm lxxii. 10, 11.—" *Reges Tartessi et insularum* (maris medii) *tributa referant*, Reges Sabææ et Meroës dona offerant, *tributa faciant* ac dona offerant reges terrarum remotissimarum earumque ditissimarum ! *Hăshtĭbh mĭnchâh*:—*facere tributa* 2 Reg. iii. 4., xvii. 3., 2 Chron. xxvii. 5., adhibito *referendi* verbo, non ob iterationem, ut putant, nam *hăshtĭbh* non significat *repetare, iterare*, sed propterea, ut mihi quidem videtur, quod, qui tributa facit, *debita refert*. *Eshpar* :—*pretium* (vid. ad Ezech. xxvii. 15), hinc donum."—MAURER, Comm. vol. III. 198.

trembling. Kiss the son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little."* And again in that magnificent hymn,—"*Kings of the earth*, and all people; *princes, and all judges of the earth* .....let them praise the name of the LORD; for his name alone is excellent: his glory is above the earth and the heavens." Indeed, and in a word, however much the attempt may be made to refine away the language of prophecy, it is notwithstanding impossible, without taking refuge in the subterfuges of casuistry and sophistication, to evade the fact, otherwise patent to all, that in the future, much more than in the past of the Christian Church;—in its ultimate splendours, beatitudes, and triumphs, much more than in its initial periods of mere type and adumbration—there will be exhibited the operation of the great principle of Church and State.

* Psalm ii. 10. 11, 12. "*Kiss the Son*" i.e., in token of reverence, 1 Sam. x. 1., 1 Kings xix. 18. The Hebrews were wont to kiss the beard, 2 Sam. xx. 29. "*Lest ye perish from the way, etc.*," that is, lest the way conduct you to destruction, into which ye have entered.—MAURER *in loco*.

Chapter VIII.

THE DOCTRINE OF M. JULES SIMON.

In respect of the relations between religion, and the State, says M. Simon, "three systems have existence; the system of state-religions, that of absolute independence, and that of the concordats."* But strange to say, that accomplished author does not include the Anglican Establishment under any branch of this classification. "It is convenient," he adds, "*to make a class apart for England*," † which professes liberty of worship while giving to the Established Church *an official existence.* ‡ This bastard system § can only be explained by the habitudes of a people which

* *La Liberté de Conscience*, p. 9.

† "Il convient de faire une classe à part pour l'Angleterre."

‡ "... ..une existence officielle."

§ "Ce système bâtard."

ceaselessly improves its laws by reforming them, never by suppressing them. The state-religion is conserved in England, because all is conserved.....At the present time the established church has no more, as a state-religion, than a nominal existence.....Thanks to the progress of all the liberties, the state-religion of England, is no more than a formula."* In fact, it would seem, that M. Simon, thus summarily dismisses the case of the Anglican Church, because it is only too practical a refutation of his own elect theory—for he admits, incautiously it is true, that in England, liberty is established—"*la liberté s'y est établie*," although side by side with it there exists a state-religion *religion d'État*. A writer who can indiscriminately affirm that a state-religion is a form of despotism the most complete and the most absolute," and that "its object is to enchain the mind as well as the body"—does well, no doubt, to persuade himself if he can, that in England there is no true state-church, or that, at the best, it has only an "official" or a merely "nominal" existence. Any other position would of course have been suicidal. It would have been death to his entire argument; which is, that liberty of conscience is attainable only by the separation of religion from the state.

To state M. Simon's general doctrine in his own terms:—"La séparation absolue est nécessaire à l'indépendance de chaque Église vis-à-vis, de l'État, à l'égalité des Églises entre elles, à la fondation ou l'introduc-

* "N'est plus qu'une formule."

tion d'une religion nouvelle, et même consideration grave quoique d' une ordre très inférieur, à une équitable répartition de l' impôt." * But how is this doctrine established? In, as it appears to us, a most unsatisfactory manner.

It is affirmed that "if the state only patronizes a religion.....such religion becomes, despite all its efforts to the contrary, a part of the public administration:" † and, in proof, an appeal is made to "the régime of protection" before and after the French Revolution. But that this method of proof is most inconsequential must appear on a moment's reflection. It is not enough to be told, that in France "the state nominates the bishops, ‡ and approves the nomination of the curés; § that "it holds the *personnel*," and "the *matèriel*,"—that all church property is vested in the government, that neither church, nor sacristy, nor burial ground, nor parsonage is in the property of the curé. || It is vain to speak of "the interdiction of religious processions in certain

* Ibid p. 11.

† *La Liberté de Conscience*, p. 11.—"D'abord l' État nomme les évêques et approuve la nomination des curés—il tient par là tout le personnel."

‡ Concordat de 1801. Art. 4.

§ Concordat 1801. Art. 10. § 2.

|| *La Liberté de Conscience*, p. 14.—Quoique traitée généreusement, la religion n'est plus maîtresse chez elle. Ni le temple, ni la sacristie, ni le cimetière, ni la maison curiale ne sont au curé. Il dépend, pour tout le matèriel, de l'autorité du conseil du fabrique.

localities;* of obstacles placed in the way of the re-assembly of councils and synods;† of the authorization requisite prior to the opening of a chapel;‡ of religious communities protected, or suppressed, or authorized under certain reserves;—of certain measures of police, which hold less exclusively to the nature of concordats, such as restrictions put upon the right of heritage and property,—important restrictions, which preclude the church from becoming again proprietress of the soil, and from adding to her rights the weight and the importance which are given by territorial riches."§ It is in vain to remind us of the rule which renders every Papal brief, every nomination, every decretal of a general council, invalid in the case of France, unless inspected by the council of state, and inserted in the Bulletin of the Laws, with the *exsequatur* of the government.||

For these facts, interesting as they are, do not establish M. Simon's doctrine. Does the French state

* Art. org. titre III. art. 45.

† Art. org. titre I, art. 4.

‡ Art. org, titre III. art. 44.

§ *La Liberté de Conscience* pp. 15, 16.

|| Ibid, p. 16.—Mais ce qui a une importance capitale, c'est la règle qui rend tout bref du pape, toute nomination, tout décret d'un concile général, caduc pour la France, s'il n'est visé par le conseil d'État, et inséré au Bulletin des lois, avec l' *exsequatur* du gouvernement. Cette règle donne au pouvoir civil autorité sur le dogme même.

nominate its bishops? Certainly, it will be replied. But then it must also be shown that such a result *necessarily* arises to religion out of its connexion with the state, or the fact proves nothing adverse to our principle. Does the result arise normally and necessarily out of the connexion? Because if so, it will present itself universally, as a phenomenon of state-churchism; in a word, wherever a state-church has developed itself, there it will be found to have lost in this particular its original independence. But, that the nomination of the bishops, or the chief pastors, by the crown, is no necessary sequence arising out of the church's relations with the state, appears from the fact that even in France, according to M. Simon's own showing, this power was not exercised prior to the reign of Francis I.* Nor was this power always excercised in our own country. It was "by statute 25 Henry VIII. c. 20. the ancient right of nomination was in effect restored to the crown." † While, in the Jewish state-church, no such right was ever vested in the crown; on the contrary, the priesthood and leviticate were hereditary. So that here, at least, was a state-religion, in which, the crown could, in no sense, be said to hold the *personnel* in control.

And so, in like manner, of the other various particulars, wherein the independence of the state-church in

* "Ce droit de nomination se concevait à la rigueur sous Francois I^er^, qui l'obtint du pape Léon X., et sous ses successeurs orthodoxes."

† *Blackstone Commentary on the Laws of England*, Vol. III. pp. 60, 62.

France, is said to have been compromised, it can be shown that they are by no means normal outgrowths from the principle in question. In England, for example, any church may have as many religious processions as it pleases; it may open churches or chapels without any authorization previously obtained from government (*l'autorisation préalable*); and may organize whatever communities or confraternities, it may think desirable, so that they be not revolutionary or seditious. The liberty of the church, therefore, is limited in none of these particulars. It is said, that in France, "the concordat has remitted the material existence of the clergy into the hands of the government." * But this is not the case in England. *Church property is not national property. The parochial clergy* and very many ecclesiastical and eleemosynary foundations hold their lands in frankalmoign—a tenure not in the least feudal, but merely spiritual. † In England the church, although a state-church, has both "*la force et l' importance que donne la richesse territoriale.*" And as to "the *authority of the state over doctrine,*" which, it is said, state-churchism places in the hands of the civil power; *that* is more imaginary than

* Le concordat a remis l' existence matérielle du clergé aux mains du gouvernment."—Parisis—*Cas de Conscience*, p. 110.

† *Blackstone's Commentary on the Laws of England*, (*Stephen's Edit.*) 1841. Vol. I. pp. 213, 214, 215. "Tenure in *frankalmoign, in libera eleemosyna,* or free alms, is that, whereby a religious corporation, aggregate or sole, holdeth lands of the doners to them, and their successors for ever. It was an old Saxon tenure, which continued under the Norman and subsequent dynasties. Tenants in *frankalmoign* were *discharged of all other services* except the trinoda necessitas; just as the Druids, among the ancient Britons had "*omnium rerum immunitatem.*"

real. M. Simon seriously assures us, that were the head of the state to refuse his homologation to the definition of an article of faith, the French clergy would be in the alternative, either of separating from Rome, or else of resigning the benefices which they hold under his protectorate. But, we demand, has such an issue ever occurred under the ordinary régime of protection? Is it not a fact, that all state churches, whenever and wherever established, have, despite this imaginary authority over doctrine, which the church is said to surrender to the state, maintained their own distinctive peculiarities—whether in doctrine, ritual, or polity? Although, according to M. Simon, the church lies open to this source of doctrinal interference, yet, is it not remarkable that in England, no dogmatic nor liturgic revision has ever taken place except through the intervention and with the concurrence of the Anglican clergy; but that, upon the contrary, the established church in these realms, has enjoyed entire exemption from such state interference from generation to generation? Is it not remarkable, that in each country, each church has preserved its individual peculiarities? In Germany and Sweden, for example, the churches have retained through successive centuries the characteristics, impressed upon them in the first instance by the great reformer, Luther? In France, in Spain, and in Austria, the churches have maintained unbroken unity with Rome; while in Russia, no ukase, either senatorial or imperial, has ever yet deprived the state-church of those distinctive marks which are known to pertain to the Greek-religion. In doctrine, as in other particulars, it has retained its identity with the

mother-church, from which it was not separated until the reign of the last representative of the house of Rurick, Feodor Ivanovich, when the Patriarch of Constantinople Jeremy II., erected the archbishopric of Moscow into an independent patriarchate—an act approved by the Constantinopolitan church, since it was confirmed by a Byzantine Council held in February, 1593.

But even could it be shown, that in the majority of instances, churches have actually lost, in some important particulars, their original independence, by their connexion with the state; yet, such *fact* would prove nothing adverse to such connexion; unless it could be shown, that it was its proper and natural sequence. That a church by its connexion with some civil government, should, to some degree lose its self-regulative power, is quite possible, if not probable; but the question arises, is not such an issue due entirely to an *abuse* of the state-church relations? Misdirected legislation in matters of religion furnishes no argument against such legislation when well-directed. In brief, the *abuse* furnishes no possible argument against the *use* of the state-church principle.

But, M. Jules Simon derives another argument in favour of separation from the inequality of position, in which the régime of protection places the respective churches.* "Si les cultes," he writes, "ne sont pas traités par le pouvoir public *avec la plus parfaite égalité*, ils ne sont pas libres. *L'existence d'un culte privilégié*

* La Liberté de Conscience, p. 18.

nuit à la liberté des autres. Quand le droit n'est pas égal, il n'est plus le droit....." un culte toléré n'est pas un culte libre.* La liberté sans l'égalité n'est qu'une pure tolerance."† Now here, if perfect equality among all religious sects is a fundamental condition of liberty of conscience, then assuredly the establishment of any religion, is in effect, a tyranny. If all must be made equal, then none can be made paramount. There can therefore be no state-church; but all this chain of consequences depends upon the initial principle. If the doctrine of political equality is founded in truth and in nature, then our argument is at an end.

It may be remembered that Jeremy Bentham, places equality among the distinct objects of the civil law.‡ But he was by far too careful a thinker not to qualify so ques-

* Ibid, pp. 200, 201:

† Ibid, 207. Article 353 of the National Convention of 1795 —expresses M. Simon's view of religious liberty.—"Nul ne peut être empêché d'exercer en se conformant aux lois, le culte qu'il a choisi.—Nul ne peut être forcé de contribuer aux dépenses d'un culte. La République n'en salarie aucun."

‡ En cherchant d'une manière plus distincte de quoi se compose ce bonheur (i.e. *le bonheur de la société politique,*) nous trouvons quartre buts subordonnes.

Subsistance.
Abondance.
Égalité.
Sûreté,

Plus la jouissance à tous ces égards est parfaite, plus la somme du

tionable a position. "Equality ought *only* to be favoured," he adds, "in cases where it is not destructive of security, where it cannot disturb the expectations which the law has already created, nor derange the distribution actually established." Here existing laws are to be respected. And here the distribution of property already established, is not to be annulled. But to place all religious sects upon terms of absolute equality—to divert grants and endowments already made to the established churches in different countries into other channels, would, according to the principles of Bentham himself, be a violation of the conditions, upon which alone, equality can be contemplated by the civil law.

Nay, perhaps no writer has expressed more clearly than Bentham himself, the *impracticability* of such a doctrine. Take for example, the following passage from his Principles of Legislation;—*To lay it down as a principle, that men ought to be equal in rights, would be, by a chain of necessary consequences, to render all legislation impossible. The laws necessitate the establishment of inequalities, since they can only give rights to some, by imposing obligations upon others. To say that all men, that is to say all beings of the human race, are equal in rights is to say*

bonheur social est grande, et nommément de ce bonheur qui dépend des lois.

Ou peut en déduire que toutes les fonctions de la loi peuvent se rapporter à ces quartre chefs :—Pouvoir à la subsistance—Entretenir l'abondance—*Favoriser l'égalité*—Maintenir la sûreté.—*Traités de Législation Civile et Pénale—des MSS. de Jérémie Bentham, par Et Dumont.* III. *Edit.* Vol. I. p. 168.

that there is no subordination. Thus the son is equal in rights to his father; he has the same right of governing and punishing his father which his father has of governing and punishing him. He has as much right in the house of his father, as his father. The maniac has the same right of confining others that others have of confining him. The idiot has the same right of governing his family which his family have of governing him. All this is manifestly included in equality of rights. It signifies all this or it signifies nothing at all.*

* *Traités de Législation Civile et Pénale,* Vol. I. p, 172.—"Poser en principe que les hommes doivent être *égaux en droits,* ce serait, par un enchaînement de conséquences nécessaires, rendre toute législation impossible. Les lois ne cessent d'etablir des inégalités, puisqu'elles ne peuvent donner des droits aux uns, qu'en imposant des obligations aux autres. Dire que tous les hommes, c'est-à-dire, tous les êtres de l'espèce humaine, sont égaux en droits, c'est dire qu'il n'y a plus de subordination. Ainsi le fils est égal en droits à son père :—il a le même droit de gouverner et de punir son père, que son père de le gouverner et de le punir. Il a autant de droit dans la maison de son père, que son père lui-même. Le maniaque a le même droit d'enfermer les autres, que les autres de l'enfermer. L'idiot a le même droit de gouverner sa famille, que sa famille de le gouverner. Tout cela est pleinement renfermé dans l'égalité des droits. *Elle signifie tout cela ou elle signifie rien du tout.*"

"L'establissement de l'égalité n'est qu'une chimère—tout ce qu'on peut faire, c'est de diminuer l'inégalité.....Si on bouleversait la propriété dans l'intention directe d'etablir l'égalité des fortunes, le mal serait irréparable :.....la société retournerait à l'état sauvage d'où elle est sortie.

Devant eux des cités, derrière eux des déserts.
Voilà l'histoire des fanatiques."

—*Traités de Legislat.*, Vol. I. pp. 211, 212.

Here as Bentham has justly remarked, "to say that all, that is, all who are of the human family, are *equal* as to their rights, is to say that there shall be no longer any subordination." And this concession is the more valuable as coming from a writer, whom no one will hastily suspect of conservative predilections.

Bentham shows,—and shows conclusively that *equality* is impracticable,—and not impracticable only, but pernicious. But if it be doubted, look to the French Revolution for a demonstration, uttered in blasphemy and recorded in blood. The cry of "*La liberté, l'égalité, et la fraternité,*" became but the watchword of revolution, anarchy, incendiarism, spoliation, profanity, bloodshed,—and of all the other dismal enormities, atrocities, and horrors of a nation gone mad, and from which the Almighty had hid his face. What was the upshot of French *equalitarianism?* The Reign of Terror—the orgies of revolution—and the saturnalia of the National Convention. The heroes of liberty, equality, and fraternity refuted themselves by the excesses into which their own hell-spun doctrines so fatally conducted them: In solemn conclave these political *illuminati* placed religion under interdict—forbad the decencies of christian burial, and proscribed in the name

"L'égalité.....demanderait une certaine distribution de biens qui est incompatible avec la sûreté."

—*Ibid*, Vol I,, p. 171.

"In the state of nature, indeed, all men are equal; *but this equality cannot long consist. Society makes them lose it.*"—*Montesquieu, Esprit des Lois, liv.* VIII., *chapitre* 3.

of the nation, the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Nay more, this Pandemonium of the "*bonnet rouge*" in its political idiocy, literally went so far as to decree "the levelling of all spires, which, by their elevation above other edifices, seemed to contravene the principles of equality." *

So much for the history of equalitarianism! But, is it not upon this very principle that M. Jules Simon bases his argument against church and state? "When right is not equal" he tells us, "it is no longer right." † When one form of religion becomes predominant the others fall back into an inferior position. But immediately it is added that it is hard to submit to this inferiority, *(dur de subir cette infériorité,)* ‡ as though everything that is "hard" were by consequence *unjust*. Again it is said, that "every religion whose ministers are not salaried by the state..... is a tolerated, a dependent religion, which despite the text of the constitution to the contrary, does not obtain in its own behalf the same protection which is accorded to the other, and is not, therefore, a free religion." § Again on page 201 it is said, that "a tolerated religion is not a free." And again on page 207, that "liberty *without equality* is not more than a pure tolerance." *

* *Commune de Paris*, 22 *brumaire an* II.

† *La Liberté de Conscience*, p. 200.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 27. § *Ibid*, p. 27.

* "La liberté *sans l'égalité* n'est qu'une pure tolerance," p. 207.

Now from these and other similar passages, which might be cited, it is evident that M. Jules Simon, looks upon *equality* as an element of liberty. It is admitted that the principle of establishments utterly excludes the idea of equality, and therefore, according to our author, of liberty too. We have seen, however, that "to lay down as a principle"—as the Declaration of the Rights of Man of the 21st of August, 1789 did lay it down,* "that all men are by nature equal as to their rights, would be, by a chain of necessary consequences, to render all legislation impossible."† We have seen, in fact, that equality is impracticable,—is as impossible in practice as it is chimerical in theory. We have seen, as in the case of the Great French Revolution, that any attempt made towards its realization ends—and ends inevitably in the total subversion both of church and state,—ends in brief in state anarchy,—civil chaos,—in the total disruption and dismemberment of the whole fabric of human society.

Consequently, therefore, since political equality enters neither into the essence nor the *conditionnel* of the public good, it is manifest that from the fact, which we readily admit that state-churchism creates *inequalities*, no objection to such state-churchism can legitimately be derived.

M. Jules Simon's argument, therefore, is at once nugatory and inapposite.

* *La Declaration des droits de l'homme, art* 1., ran thus ;—"Tous les hommes naissent et demeurent égaux en droits."

† *Jeremy Bentham, Traités de Legislat. Tom.* I. p. 173.

Another objection, however, made to the principle of state-religions, is, that the state is profoundly incompetent to the authorization of religion. The state we are told, is "neither metaphysician, nor theologian—*ni métaphysicen ni théologien;* and we are directed for proof to the contests between the empire and the papacy, and between the French parliament and the Sorbonne. We are pointed to these facts as illustrative of the confusion which it is supposed is necessarily consequent upon political interference in religious causes. But, as it appears to us, the facts adduced fall far short of a demonstration of the doctrine here propounded.

Upon the other hand cases are numerous in history, where the state has exercised over the decisions of the church a most valuable corrective influence. If the secular power is fallible, the church is not infallible. When in the VIIIth century the Papal church lent itself to iconolatry, may it not be taken as a testimony to the capacity of state politicians even in religious matters, that a Philippicus, a Leo the Isaurian, and a Charlemagne opposed their influence to the progress of this wretched superstition. The popes were the iconolaters; but the emperors the iconoclasts! Was it not to the honour of William the Conqueror that he resisted the assumptions of the ambitious Hildebrande? Was it not to the honour of Henry II. that he sought to correct the abuses of the clergy? Are not the Constitutions of Clarendon proof that the state is not altogether incompetent to know the right from the wrong, and the good from the evil even in matters of

ecclesiastical discipline? And do not the names of the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, of Philip the Fair of France, of the Edwards I. and III., of Richard II., of the Electors of Saxony, of Gustavus Vasa and many others suggest that reforms—ecclesiastical and religious reforms—may originate as frequently on the side as much of the state as of the church? That parliaments may legislate very unwisely, none will deny. But the incompetence in such cases is *per accidens*. In states as such there is no inherent and necessary unfitness for ecclesiastical legislation. If politicians are not theologians it is their own fault. They are possessed of all the faculties necessary to theologic study, and have free access to the same sources of information as lie open to him whose vocation is exclusively spiritual. If they fail to avail themselves of these advantages they are not surely by virtue of such neglect, exonerated. Failure in one duty cannot possibly be pleaded as valid reason for failure in another.

But again, M. Simon further avers that he spurns the system of state-religions as a proscription of liberty of thought—"*la proscription de la liberté de penser.*" We are told that a state church is a persecuting church. It is said that Constantine declared himself for unlimited toleration immediately upon his victory over Maxentius;* but that, from the day that the bishops became a power in the state, the church became intolerant. The same judges it

* *Edict of Constantine and Licinius*, in *Lactantius,—La Liberté de Conscience*, pp. 112, 115.

is averred who, as it were the evening before, condemned the christians in the name of the deities of the empire, were now condemning the Donatists in the name of the Councils and of the Catholic and Apostolic faith;—the old pagan intolerance thus re-appearing, but this time in the service of another creed. We are further told that when the ecclesiastics forgot to be apostles, it became necessary that sooner or later they should resign themselves to become executioners. We are referred to the misfortunes of an Abélard, of a Wycliffe, a Husse, a Jean Le Clerc, a Jean Châtelain, a Bernard Palissy, a Louis Berquin, an Anne du Bourg, a Galileo, and a Giordano Bruno! We are told of the martyrology of thought—"*martyrologe de la pensée.* We are reminded of the persecuting canon of the IVth Council of Lateran,*—a canon which Gregory IXth inserted among his '*Decretals*' and of how Aquinas in his Summa Theologiæ taught that heretics deserved not only to be separated from the church by excommunication, but also from the world by death.—"Meruerunt non solùm ab Ecclesiâ per excommunicationem separari, sed etiam per mortem à mundo excludi." And these facts we readily admit. We admit that state-churches have been intolerant, and above all the church of the Papacy! We admit that the Council of Constance was a persecuting Council.† We admit that the Hussite war

* At the 44th session of this Council it was determined—"Tangriam hæretici relapsi, lapsi *puniantur ad ignem*,"—Art. 23.

† Husse and Jerome of Prague were its victims.

made "Bohemia and a part of Germany," to cite a Roman Catholic historian's own words, "a desert deluged with human blood." We admit that the Sorbonne was an enemy to liberty of conscience, when in condemning the proposition of Luther—"Hereticos comburi esse contra voluntatem spiritûs sancti," it added—"hæc propositio est falsa et errori Waldensium et Catharorum consona." We admit that the Baron D'Oppede, De Monfort, Guise, Louvois and many others were monsters of intolerance and fanaticism. We admit all this. We have not a word of apology for the "*missions bottées*," the Dragonnades, the Holy Inquisition, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, or the persecution of Port Royal. We have no defence for a Francis I., a Charles IX., or a Louis XIV.

We admit, we repeat, that state-churches have been, and in some cases still are intolerant, and that this is true *par excellence* of the church of the Papacy. And correctly viewed, this admission is for us at least a safe one. It can in no wise prejudice our argument. And why? Because it is not in the power of M. Simon, or Neander, or Mosheim, or in fact of any other historian to prove that because a church is a state-church it will become by consequence an intolerant—a persecuting church. Perhaps it is true that every state-religion in Europe has at one time or another drawn the sword in its own behalf. But what of it? It only proves that in ages by-past the doctrine of toleration was not practiced,—and for good reason, because not understood. We are not to judge the great

actors and doctors of the middle ages, nor indeed the illustrious leaders of the Reformation themselves by the principles which prevail in the nineteenth century. The doctrine of toleration had not then received its full discussion. If the men of those times persecuted, they did it on principle. If Calvin * practiced intolerance, and

* Calvin's persecution of Servetus, among others, is already, no doubt, familar to the reader. Calvin had written to Viret and Farel, to say that, "if that heretic came to Geneva, he would take care that he should be capitally punished,"—a threat, which he afterwards fulfilled to the very letter. For Servetus was condemned to be burnt alive on the 27th October, A.D., 1553. Nor was this persecution any new thing. It had long been the custom of Geneva to punish heresy. In 1536, several persons were deprived of liberty because they refused to embrace the received doctrine. In 1547, Jacques Gruet was beheaded. In 1551, Bolzec was first imprisoned and then exiled, while about the same time Castalio met with a similar fate. And in 1558, Gentilis only escaped capital punishment by an open and public, although feigned, recantation.

And as to the persecution of Servetus, which perhaps of all these and similar cases has excited most general attention, it may help to show the spirit of the age when we add that the conduct of Calvin and the Genevese was approved by some of the chief of the Reformers. Both Viret and Farel expressed their approval. Farel explicitly affirmed that "*Servetus deserved a capital punishment.*" Theodore Beza even wrote in its defence. For in the year 1554, in answer to Faustus Socinus and especially to Sebastian Castalio, who had been induced by the fate of Servetus to write a work entitled *De Hæreticis, non puniendis*, Beza published his famous book—"*De Hæreticis à Magistratu gladio puniendis.*" Bucer in like manner wrote that—"Servetus deserved something worse than death:"—while the excellent and gentle Philip Melancthon in a letter to Calvin, says,—"In my opinion your magistrates have acted justly, in putting to death a blasphemer, convicted by due process of law."

Observe too on this subject of toleration the following opinions

Baxter preached it, we may wonder less at the legislation of a Henry VIII., an Elizabeth, or a Charles II. In fact, when the last-named monarch, under the influence of the Duchess of Portsmouth issued a proclamation, suspending, by his own dispensing power, all penal enactments against dissent, it had no effect but to evoke the opposition of the nation. For the House of Commons at the very next session not only voted the exclusion of

from Puritan writers at the time of the Commonwealth : Edwards in his *Gangræna*:—"As original sin is the fundamental sin, having in it the seeds and spawn of all sin; so *a toleration hath in it all errors and evils.* This is the Abaddon, Apollyon, the destroyer, of *all religion, therefore the devil follows it, night and day, and all the devils in hell and their instruments are at work to promote a toleration.*" Baillie in his Dissuasive:—"*A monstrous imagination—liberty of conscience and toleration is so prodigious an impiety, that this religious parliament cannot but abhor the very naming of it.*" Rutherford, in his Free Disputation:—"*Toleration makes the Scripture a nose of wax.*" Good, in his *Sermon*, 1644:—"*The toleration of every religion will destroy all religion. Let such toleration find allowance in the Turk's paradise; it shall never I trust be planted in the paradise of God.*" He further calls it,—"*a bloody tenet to the souls of men.*" Cave, in his Sermon, 1647:—"*Liberty of conscience may in good time improve itself into liberty of estates, and liberty of houses, and liberty of wives, and, in a word, liberty of perdition of souls and bodies.* Ashe in his Sermon, 1645:—"I *beseech you, take heed of tolerating all religions. Such liberty would usher in libertinism and hasten our desolation.*" Calamy in his Sermon, 1644:—"*The city of London is become an Amsterdam—separation from our churches is countenanced. Toleration is cried up. It overgroweth all Church-government, bringeth in confusions, and openeth a wide door unto all irreligion and atheism; for at the same door that all false religions come in, the true religion will quickly get out.*" And finally, Baxter, himself an advocate of persecution, says,—"*I abhor unlimited toleration, or any toleration at all.*"

Roman Catholics from all places of public trust, but in passing the "Bill of Supplies" appended the famous "Test Act," by which its provisions acquired the force of law.* The nation was not prepared for toleration. Indeed, even Locke himself, in the very treatise which he penned upon this subject, taught that "those are not at all to be tolerated who deny the being of a God."

Intolerance, therefore, was not as M. Simon seems to think, consequent upon any particular system, as that of the constitution of the Church with the state; but was the distinctive and characteristic spirit of the age to which the acts in question exclusively pertain.

* By the Test Act 25 Car. II, c, 2, says Blackstone, it was provided that all persons having any office, civil or military (with the exception of some few of an inferior kind,) or receiving pay from the crown, or holding a place of trust under it, should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribe a declaration against transubstantiation, and also receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the usage of the Church of England. *Commentary on the Laws of England, (Stephen's Edition,) vol iii, p.* 105.

Chapter IX.

THE LAWS AND LIMITS OF TOLERATION.

At this point in our argument, it is desirable that we should enter upon a question, the discussion of which is essential to a correct appreciation of the subject of these pages—the question, that is, of the laws and limits of toleration, in their relation to the principle of church and state.

Law, it must be remembered, however we may define it, is the political antithetic of toleration. It is in the nature of a law to restrict freedom of action —or as Jeremy Bentham has, with less of his usual accuracy expressed it.—"All law is an infraction of liberty," * and again,—"all law is contrary to liberty," †

* "*Toute loi est une infraction de la liberté.*"

† "*Toute loi est contraire à la liberté.*"

"Restrictions on liberty are," says the same author, inevitable. It is impossible to create rights (droits,) without imposing obligations; to protect person, life, reputation, property, subsistence, even freedom itself, except at the price of liberty."* Such therefore, being the fact, it is evident that law represents, in virtue of its very nature, and as of necessity, the principle of intolerance. All law is in essence proscriptive. It imposes limits upon the active powers. It erects given acts, some of which may be harmless in themselves, into delinquencies, *délits*, or penal offences. And in any case, it imposes restraints, such as cannot be said to exist in a state of nature, that is such a state as may be supposed to have prevailed anterior to the existence of the laws.

Toleration, according to this view then is as to its subject-matter, two-fold, or in other words, civil and religious. There are many *civil* acts, innocuous in themselves, which, nevertheless, state legislation has rendered penal, in view of the public good; and many others, to which it has attached prejudices and disabilities. These, then, are so many instances of civil intolerance. A man may not convey his property as he pleases; he must have due regard to legal forms. A man may not pay his debts as he pleases; he must in like manner respect the enactments of the legislature, or else suffer mulcts and losses. In brief, no member of the state is civilly free. Given actions are not tolerated. His power to do is circumscribed and

* *Traités de Législation Civile et Pénal*, Vol i. 164.

limited. There is not in human society perfect and civil toleration. But most men are wise enough to discover that restraints, put upon actions even of a civil kind, are not only salutary, but also *necessary*,—necessary to the cohesion of the body-politic. Unlimited civil toleration is what has never entered into the dream of any but madmen and fanatics, inasmuch as civil toleration, like civil equalitarianism, is but another name,—a pleasant euphemism for all that is terrific in anarchy and revolution.

No,—it is only in religion that men think to demand exemption from wholesome and needful restraints. It is here, and here only that law is deemed an evil.

And the question naturally arises,—is unlimited toleration in religion any more to be granted than in matters purely civil? Law is necessary in the one province; is it less necessary in the other? As we have already seen, the state must take cognizance of religion as a mighty social force, and of the church as an *imperium in imperio*. But if so, it is clear that the state is in duty bound to contemplate these facts in its legislative acts. And if the state must legislate in view of religion, as for a multitude of reasons, it must; and in such legislation keep in view as its end and aim the public good,—then certainly it is the inevitable duty of the state to create inequalities, to discourage schisms and sects, to impose disabilities at the least upon given forms of erroneous and strange doctrine, and thus, while ceding to every subject perfect liberty of conscience, to circumscribe its toleration of religious practice

by restraints and limitations necessary to its own political self-preservation.

But it may be asked,—has the state any right as such to incommode or prejudice the interests of the subject on the score of his creed? A question, to which there may be given many answers. We know how a Knox, a Baxter, a Collings, and a Bates have answered it. We know how the "New Forcers of Conscience" as Milton designated them, have answered it, that is to say, as would a Lateran, or a Tridentine council, by a bold and explicit enunciation of persecution. We know too how a Locke and a Warburton have answered it, namely by propounding the doctrine of a limited toleration. Locke, for example, taught that the man who does not believe in the existence of a God, was *ipso facto* disqualified for citizenship: and he laid down yet more generally that "no opinions contrary to human society, or to those moral rules which are necessary to the preservation of civil society, are to be tolerated by the magistrate" * Warburton in like manner held that "the Quaker, the Anabaptist, the Papist, and the Atheist are all in different degrees the proper object of restraining or penal laws." And then finally, we know the answer which has been yielded by modern legislation; namely that the state should recognize the right of every subject to absolute and unlimited toleration. This last is the view adopted by the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone, in his valuable work on "the State in its relations with the Church," and by many recent thinkers.

* Locke, on Toleration.

But as it appears to us the truth lies between the two extremes. Taking even the low view of public utility as expounded by Locke and Paley, there must be limits to toleration. Even supposing that the state derives all its powers from that principle, and is in no sense brought into relationship with the Supreme and Almighty Governor, yet would it be necessary that it should recognize and lend its protection to some form of religious faith, and in so doing that it should of necessity impose limits upon religious toleration. "No opinions contrary to society..... are to be tolerated by the magistrate," is the doctrine as laid down by Locke. And this is after all the more moderate and correct view of the subject. Take for example the case of Mormonism. Is this odious system to claim equality of rights, and absolute license for all its debaucheries and abominations. Even M. Simon would impose a limit here. And there are many other cases in which it is the bounden duty of the state, if only in the interests of the public good, to impose restraints. Knowing as we do the dogmas of the Jesuits—restraints upon that order are both necessary and obligatory. And so in like manner restrictions are necessary upon atheists, communists, idolaters and Jews. Then too there are many other forms of religion, whose tendency is indirectly and ultimately in contravention of the political institutions of the land. There are religious sects in this country, whose ecclesiastical polity is essentially republican, and as such in real antagonsim with the constitution as a mixed monarchy. Now, these and many others are cases which call for restrictions. Is the state to nurse vipers and scorpions? Is it to foster alike the good and the evil? God forbid.

But it may be asked, is not this in substance the principle of persecution? As we think, certainly not. Persecution upon the one hand, and a moderated or limited toleration upon the other are in practice remotely apart. Persecution aims destruction at the life, the liberty, and the property of the offender; but a moderated tolerance seeks to impose no disabilities but such as are necessary to the public good, and such therefore, only as are perfectly consistent with the largest measure of liberty. It is one thing, to issue a writ *de hæretico comburendo* against, say an adherent of the Papacy; but quite another thing to say that, while holding such opinions, he shall be disqualified for the office of Lord High Chancellor, or for the exercise of the right of advowson. It is one thing to cry with the blood-thirsty Amalric—"*Tuez, tuez*," but it is quite another thing merely to enforce those restrictive measures, or if you will, that prudential and negative intolerance, of which at present we are concerned to speak. For intolerance in this restricted sense of the word, is, it must be remembered, far from being synonymous with persecution. The one is in many instances constructive, the other in every instance, destructive of liberty. M. Simon admits that cases may arise, which may justify a legislator in putting restrictions upon liberty,—"qui puisse justifier un législateur d'avoir mis *des restrictions à la liberté*;" * and that liberty *sans limite* is but another name

* M. Simon adds, and very properly:—Sans doute, il est juste de dire qu'il faut une regle à la liberté et que la liberté sans limite change de nom et s'appelle l'anarchie."

for a state of anarchy. Again the same author, and his words are cited as the concessions of an adversary, that "to be free without a law, is to be abandoned."*

Political liberty, therefore, whether it relate to matters civil or religious, is that measure of freedom and no more, which upon experience, is found to be compatible with the highest ultimate well-being of the social fabric. And all restrictions put upon actions necessarily to this end are legitimate, and therefore not tyranical, beneficent and therefore not of the essence of persecution.

And as to the right of the state to impose these restrictions, no one ought to entertain a doubt, as the afore-mentioned reasons have clearly demonstrated. Locke attempts a separation of interests which are inseparable. "The commonwealth" he defines as "a society of men constituted ONLY for the procuring, preserving, and advancing of their own civil interests." "I esteem it above all things necessary," he tells us, "to distinguish exactly the business of civil government from that of religion, and to settle the bounds that lie between the one and the other." But in making assertions like these, the venerable thinker must have forgotten the testimony of all antiquity as well as of the greatest and profoundest political philosophers of every age. He must have forgotten too the fact palpable to all, that the civil interests of men

* "Être libre, sans une loi, c'est être abandonné."—*La Liberté de Consc.*, p. 301.

cannot be conserved except through their spiritual, and that therefore statesmanship is, after all, somewhat more than a matter of mere *police*. Again it is said that,—"he jumbles heaven and earth together, the things most remote and opposite, who mixes these societies," that is, church and state. And all we have to say in reply is, that, even granting, which we do not, the accuracy of the statement, the world would perhaps be none the worse for having, as Mr. Locke says, a little of heaven "*jumbled*" into it. We are further told that "political society is instituted for no other end but only to secure every man's possession of the things of this life." As it seems to us a most erroneous and pernicious doctrine! Has legislation, we demand, no relation, and that directly, to the honour and glory of God? This is surely not the view of St. Paul, whose inspired injunction is,—whether ye eat or drink, or *whatsoever* ye do—(language universally comprehensive), do all to the glory of God." Nor is it that of the Psalmist who commands "the Kings" and "judges of the earth" to "serve the Lord with fear, to rejoice with trembling," and to "kiss the Son," that is, to embrace *in their kingly and judicial capacity* the faith of Christ, "lest he be angry, and they perish from the way when his wrath is kindled but a little.*

And as related to this general question of the laws and limits of toleration we may consider as decisively

* Psalm ii, 10—11. Compare Psalm lxxxii; Isaiah xlix, 7; lx, 3; Daniel iv, 25—37.

against the view of Mr. Locke, the doctrine propounded by the patriarch Job. The passage in chapter xxxi,* to which reference is here made, is what would in the language of logic be termed an universal affirmative; and is, as it appears to us, conclusive on the right of the magistrate to punish, or to at least restrain idolatry. And it was only in accordance with this inspired *dictum* that the legislation of the Hebrew nation made idolatry a capital offence.

The fact is that truth is essentially intolerant of error: right of wrong: good of evil: light of darkness. The oriental mind came nearer the real state of the case when it represented the good and the evil as two active and mutually antagonistic powers. Truths are powers for good. Errors are also powers, but for evil. And as such they are in essential and natural oppugnancy the one to the other. Truth is intolerant of error: and error is intolerant of truth. Virtue is intolerant of vice; and vice is intolerant of virtue. Orthodoxy is intolerant of heterodoxy, and heterodoxy of orthodoxy. "Ye are not of the world," saith our saviour, "therefore the world hates you." And this hating is to be reciprocal, as the command of St. John clearly shows, when he says:—"Love not the world,

* Job xxxi, 26—28, *inclusive*. "If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness; and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand. This also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge; for I should have denied the God that is above."

neither the things that are in the world. If any man love

It may be observed that the worship here referred to, is that of the heavenly bodies. Comp. Ezek. viii. 16.

"*If I beheld the Sun:*"—Heb. $\hat{O}r$—in Latin *lux*, i.e. lux solis, sol, Cf. xxxvii. 21. Isaiah xviii. 4., Hab. iii. 4. Homer similarly speaks of the sun as φάος, *light.*—Odyss. iii. 355. This worship of the heavenly bodies is called *Sabaism*, from Heb. *tsâbhâ*, a *host.*

"*Or the moon walking, &c:*"—Comp. Herodotus lib. IV., Julius Cæsar De Bello Gallic. lib. VI. Tacitus Annal. lib. XV. That our Saxon forefathers worshipped the Sun and Moon, appears conclusively from the names given respectively to the first and second days of the week, viz., *Sunday* and *Monday* or *Moon-day.*

"*And my heart hath been secretly enticed:*"—i.e. to worship them.

"And my mouth etc.:—On the kissing of the hand, by which idols were wont to be worshipped, Comp. 1 Kings, xix. 18., Hos. xiii. 2., Min. Felix ii. 5., Pliny H. N. xxviii. 2., Tac. Hist. iii. 24., Winer R. W. I. p. 812, and Lucian in the book περὶ ἀρχήσεως.

"*This were an iniquity, etc.*:"—It was, as one commentator expresses it, a "crimen grave a *judicibus publicis* puniendum." By the judge here is evidently meant the civil magistrate. Compare Deut. xvii. 2, 7., and Exek. viii. 14, 18. Another expositor, and a Dissenter too, admits that "*Job* regarded" idolatry "*as a heinous offence, and one of which the magistrates ought to take cognizance,*" —an admission by the way, fatal to the theory that the civil ruler has no authority in matters of faith.

"The very designation of a *civil* magistrate," says Dr. Wardlaw, "ought to be understood as defining his official functions, and *limiting them to the civil department.*" But if so, the patriarch Job, who wrote under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, must have been labouring under some tyrannical illusion, since he certainly did not understand the "designation of a *civil* magistrate," as Dr. Wardlaw says, "it *ought* to be understood."

the world, the love of the Father is not in him."

The fact is, that in these days of a finical, sickly, and maudlin sentimentalism, when error has, if possible, more apologists than truth, it need occasion us no surprise that there should be claimed for the whole monster brood, the slimy reptilia of superstition, an unrestricted licence to crawl about in the land, such as, if granted, cannot but prove obnoxious both to the security of the commonwealth, and to the honour and glory of God.

"If any man err from the right way," wrote Locke, "it is his own misfortune, no injury to thee." But a principle fraught with more danger to society could not possibly have been uttered. Suppose, for the sake of argument, that "the error from the right way," here spoken of, should happen, as it might, to take the form of offences against the person, as assault or abduction :—of offences against property, as arson, larceny, or forgery :—of offences against the government, as treason, the selling of public offices, or the administration of unlawful oaths :—of offences against religion :—of offences against the law of nations :—against public justice :—against public peace :—against public trade :—or against the public health, police or economy :—what comfortable consolation would it not be to society to check the hand that would arrest the offender with the balmy philosophy of a Locke, and say, "it is his own misfortune, no injury to thee—nor therefore art thou to punish."

But it is frequently said, that the spirit of the gospel

is opposed to the employment of force.* But we are prepared to demonstrate that even Christianity itself does not itself extend to heretics all that M. Simon declares to be elemental to liberty of conscience. Both Locke and Simon affirm that no man ought to suffer prejudice on account of his creed. And the disciplinary acts of the earlier councils are upon this account stigmatized as tyrannical. But were they more so than those damnatory sentences and canons which are to be found in the writings of the New Testament? When certain Judaizing teachers had sought to pervert the gospel of Christ, what was the treatment which they received at the hands of the great apostle? Was it that of unlimited toleration? Let his solemn anathemas, be our only answer. "Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, *let him be*

* So Wardlaw, Locke, Simon, Pascal, and others. The last named author has the following passage in his Pensées :—"La conduite de Dieu est de mettre la religion dans l'esprit par les raisons, et dans le cœur par la grâce. Mais de la vouloir mettre dans l'esprit et dans le cœur par la force, et par les menaces, ce n'est pas y mettre la religion, mais la terreur, *terrorem potius quam religionem.*"—*Art.* xxiv. 3.

"Where coercion begins, religion ends. All compulsion here is impiety."—Dr. Wardlaw,—Lectures on Estab. p. 29.

"The end of religious society,.....is the public worship of God, and by means hereof the acquisition of eternal life. No force is here to be made use of upon any occasion whatsoever. For force belongs wholly to the civil magistrate."—Locke, on Toleration, p. 23.

accursed." And this anathema is deliberately repeated. "As we said before, so say I now again, if any man preach any other gospel unto you than which ye have received, *let him be accursed.*"* Here, to say the least, the liberty to teach—*la liberté d'enseigner* is in a given case prejudiced, limited, and restrained. And that the excommunication was to be *social* as well as ecclesiastical, appears from St. Paul's canon to the Corinthian Church. "I have written unto you" he says, "not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be.....covetous, or an idolater, or a railer ...or an extortioner; with such an one no not to eat." † And St. John is, if possible even more explicit and unsparing. "He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, ‡ ...hath both the Father and the Son. If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine,"—what is to be the measure of toleration—*social* toleration be it observed, accorded to him?—"*receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed.* For he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds." And the Gospel itself embodies the same spirit, when it is said—"he that believeth and is baptised shall be saved; and"—for that is only half the truth, "he that believeth not shall be damned."

* Gal. i. 8, 9.

† 1 Cor. v. 11., Cf. SS. Can. Apost. 10, 11, 25. 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14. 1 Tim. vi. 3, 5.

‡ 2 John 9—11 verses.

And further it should not be forgotten in the discussion of this subject that liberty of conscience, or the right of private judgment upon the one hand, and toleration upon the other are far from being convertible terms. As M. de Bonald has very correctly remarked ; "to demand liberty of thought is but a little more absurd than to demand liberty for the circulation of the blood." * The fact is that liberty of thought is in every case inevitable. A man cannot help thinking his own thoughts. In the words of the late Principal Hill, of St. Andrew's, "liberty of conscience, as the word implies, has its seat in the mind. Its essence consists in freedom of judgment, NOT IN FREEDOM OF PRACTICE. If Christians are required to believe as doctrines of God, or to receive as commandments of God, what his word has not prescribed, their liberty of conscience is invaded. But, if their judgment is left free, their practice may, without any sacrifice of their liberty, be restrained by many considerations." †

Supposing then that the principle of state-establishments does impose restraints upon the practice of dissident

* "On a réclamé la liberté de penser, ce qui est un peu plus absurde que si on eût réclamé la liberté de la circulation du sang ; mais ce que les sophistes appelaient la liberté de penser, était la liberté de penser tout haut. Or, parlér et écrire sont des actions, et on ne peut demander de tolérance pour des actions coupables, sans rendre inutiles tous les soins de l'administration pour maintenir la paix et le bon o-dre, ou plutôt sans renverser de fond en comble la société."—*Mélanges :—in M. Simon.*

† Lectures on Divinity, p. 588.

sects, we are nevertheless prepared to affirm, that, as such principle is conducive to the public good and that in the highest degree,—so far from its being, as Dr. Winter Hamilton has asserted, "a principle and means of tyranny," it is upon the contrary compatible with the very largest possible measure of civil and religious liberty. For, to cite the words of Archdeacon Paley,—"Religious liberty is, like civil liberty, not an immunity from restraint, but the being restrained by no law, but what in a greater degree conduces to the public welfare." *

* Moral and Political Philosophy, Book VI. c. 10.

Chapter X.

THE PRINCIPLES OF DISSENT.

But now to what have been named "The Principles of Dissent," which, however, are in reality nothing better than a series of obstinate *negations*;—an averment, be it observed, which is fully substantiated, were that needed, by the authority of the late Mr. Angell James.

"One thing observes that author must ever be borne in mind, that as dissent is founded on, or is rather *a series of objections to the Established Church*, its principles cannot be stated without impugning that system against which these objections lie. The reasons of our separation are necessarily arguments against the Church from which we secede." *

* "Principles of Dissent," by J. A. James,—Preface.

Now, it is of these so-called principles of dissent, that we propose a brief and concise discussion.

First of all, then, it is said that by the constitution of the Church with the state, the church's *independence* is necessarily compromised.* But we would ask, what is the nature of the independence, which is here said to be thus prejudiced? Dr. R. Wardlaw shall answer :—"independence I mean of all earthly authority."

But has the Church ever possessed such independence? Certainly not. Upon the contrary the Church, when the

* "The Church of England is not founded on Scripture, but on Acts of Parliament."—*Christian Penny Magazine*, Vol. II. p. 77.

"Je crois que chaque culte doit rester maitre de sa constitution, et que s' il se lie à cet égard par des conventions même libérales, il abdique son independance et compromet sa liberté."—*La Liberté de Conscience*, p. 91.

"The original and the permanent principle of an Establishment is.....*the dependence of the Church upon the State.*"—*Lectures on National Church Establishments*, by Dr. R. Wardlaw, p. 345.

"The Church has undoubtedly surrendered a part of her independence, in return for ample endowments and temporal power."—Hallam.

"The Church of England, says John Angell James, is "*in vassalage to the State.*"

"The Church resigns up her independency, and makes the magistrate her supreme head, without whose approbation and allowance she can administer, transact, and decree nothing."—Warburton, "*Alliance*," Book I. c. 3.

utmost is said, is but a society of *human* beings. Her ministers are human, and such also are her constituent members. Granted that her constitution is divine, yet *the executive* is human. To men is entrusted the administration of her laws and canons ecclesiastic. They administer her sacraments ; conserve her mysteries, and appoint their own successors in her holy orders. And though they are not at liberty sacrilegiously to tamper with that system, of church order derived to them from the Apostolic age, yet have they within limits discretionary power: they have in the words of Art. xx., "power to decree rites and ceremonies"—facts which prove that the church never was absolutely "independent of all earthly authority."

And, if by "*earthly authority*" is intended the authority of the state, then is it a petitio principii to affirm that the Church is "independent."

That the independence described by Dr. Wardlaw is chimerical and Quixotic, is further apparent, when it is remembered that the Church of Christ is, despite herself, a contained circle ;—a smaller within a larger human society. All its members are members of the state,—subject to the domination of the temporal ruler, and, as such, are in no proper sense independent and autocratic. Nay more, a developed church, such as existed in the Nicæan age, not only is not ; but cannot be, independent of the state. She is too much of an *imperium in imperio* to escape the notice of the governing power. In the nature of things then, as well as in the order of Providence, the society called the

Church, or the body spiritual, is to all intents and purposes the natural co-ordinate of the body politic. The church is to such body politic as a polar opposite, without which, there can neither be stability nor harmony among the great social forces. Take the church as she is found in the splendour and power of a normal and healthy maturity, and it is impossible that the state should neglect to secure her alliance to itself. So that the evolution of history is, in this as in many other respects, nearer than is commonly supposed to that of nature. The constitution of church and state is but a natural outgrowth and upgrowth of Providence.

But yet again:—the history of state-churches shows that each church, as it is brought into connexion with the state, has still retained, despite this supposed tyranny of the secular power its own individual identity. The Greek Church has not lost its Constantinopolitan character by alliance with the empire of the Russias. The Roman church, in like manner, has remained Tridentine in doctrine and Latin in ritual, whenever and wherever established. The Lutheran communion again has lost none of its identity by the acts of Gustavus Vasa, or of Christian III. of Denmark. Nor yet again, has "the Reformed Religion," as the Calvinistic system has been termed, lost its own individuality, either mediately or immediately, as a consequence of its establishment by the Seigneurs Syndics of the Council of Geneva. While in England the church remains both in doctrine and constitution identically the same as she was left when the English Reformation had reached its acme and consummation.

Surely with such histories before us, we are compelled to the belief that in no important particulars is the independance of the church in any wise limited or restrained by her connexion with the state.

More frequently indeed, the church has of the two been the dominant power; to wit, when a Hildebrande matched his audacity against the First of the Norman dynasty, or an Innocent III., made a Lackland tremble and crouch in vassalage to the Holy See, or when in the ninth century, the Emperor Lewis II. of Bavaria, turned groom to that arrogant and imperious pontiff, His Holiness Nicholas I.

But further, it is in our right to demand whether or not Dissent has secured this Eutopian "independence of all earthly authority."

Have its sectarian societies,—"churches" we cannot call them, no laws of cohesion,—laws, let it be observed, which are as to their origin merely "earthly" and human? Have they no principles of communion—no terms and conditions of membership—no canons ecclesiastical, oral, if not written—no powers of communication and excommunication? Upon the contrary, has not each schism its own idiosyncrasies in these particulars? Take the facts as they stand. The rules of that venerable presbyter of the Church of England, John Wesley, are nearly as rigourously observed as were those of St. Benedict or St. Odo of Clugny. The peculiar dogmas

of Calvin, Whitefield, Fox (Quakers), Irving, Swedenborg, Sandeman, Morrison, and Darby, are made conditions of communion to the several sects of which they were respectively the founders. Here, virtually at least, is the intervention of an earthly authority. Indeed the motley crowd of Dissidence, with its multitudinous schisms and factions, gives only too indubitable an evidence of the operation, of a power, which is "earthly," if not also "sensual and devilish."

Then, moreover, is it not a fact, universally acknowledged and admitted, that, in the republican assemblies of Dissent there is not infrequently witnessed the exercise of an authority somewhat far worse than "earthly authority" —the angry exhibition, to wit, of the fiercest passion,— of malignity the most unhallowed,—and of a fanaticism the most virulent and exacerbate? Are not the so-called church-meetings in many instances transformed,—and that too on occasions of a nature the most trivial, into scenes of midnight wrangling and debate?

That the history of Nonconformity savours not a little of a certain sort of "*independency*"—few can pretend to deny. Take for example the following *facts*. In 1859, a faction of one of the Congregationalist communities, located in rather a noted watering-place on the Lancashire coast, exemplified their "independence of all earthly authority" by carting their minister in effigy—a man of spotless honesty of life, through the town in the height of the summer season, and then finally burning him on

the sands. In another "this independency of all earthly authority" led certain refractory Wesleyans, misnamed "Reformers" to blockade one of their pulpits in a manufacturing town of the West Riding, in the endeavour by this means to retain their spiritual instructor *per force* as an auditor of the calumnies, slanders, and scurrilities, which from their appropriate seats in the gallery and other parts of this place of worship, they were prepared with the volubility of the fish-dames of Billingsgate, to pour forth into his reluctant ears. While in yet another case—and, be it observed, that similar cases are far from being rare, an Independent chapel, in one of the midland counties, was not only put under seige, but upon one occasion two rival preachers—the elect respectively of the besiegers, and the besieged, were found occupying the pulpit at the same hour, when the more muscular of the two, exemplified his "independence of all earthly authority," by forcibly thrusting his 'Reverend' brother down upon the pulpit seat, and essaying, after this felicitous prelude, to conduct the devotions of the schismatic congregation—the factious republic, for whose suffrage he was, to say the least, the more sinewy and stalwart claimant. Here there was certainly a "muscular Christianity," which must be admitted to lie outside the scheme even of a Kingsley's philosophy.

Now, is it in developments such as these that Dr. Wardlaw thinks Dissent has advantage of the church? Because if so, the dispute is at an end. We readily yield the palm. We bow defeated. For, certain it is, beyond

doubt or disputation, that the Church of England and Ireland never has enjoyed the felicity of such an "indepency of all earthly authority."

The tyranny of the so-called deacons, is, however yet a further item in the present enquiry. As is well known —the ministers of Dissidence are far from few, who have felt the iron enter into their souls, and who have found in a premature grave an asylum from a despotism as degrading as it is impious. There is a smatch of the sublime in the tyranny of a Cæsar, a Bonaparte, or a Hildebrande. But to tremble and fear before grocers, and haberdashers, whom the popular suffrage has made the purse-bearers and despots of the flock—to cower for the crumbs which fall from my "LORD-DEACON'S" table, is an ignominy, if possible, more scorching to the intellect, and more crushing to the heart than that of the negro or the galley-slave.

But, not to say more ourselves, let us hear the testimony of a Dissenter.—"What"—demands the late John Angell James,—"is the deacon of some of our Dissenting communities?" Note well the answer. "The patron of the living, the Bible of the minister,—and the wolf of the flock!"

"An individual," adds Mr. James, "who, thrusting himself into the seat of government, attempts to lord it over God's heritage, by dictating alike to the pastor and the members,"—[Here is temporal headship with a ven-

geance !]—"who upon the least symptom of opposition to his will, *frowns like a tyrant upon the spirit of rising rebellion amongst his slaves.* Such men there have been, whose spirit of domination in the church has produced a kind of DIACONOPHOBIA *in the minds of many ministers who have suffered most woefully from their bite !*" *

Our conclusion, then, is that Dissenters ought to be the last to talk of the church's independence :—the last to rail against an Establishment, of the actual internal working of which they are lamentably and culpably ignorant. We contend that the church does not lose her independency in any important particulars by connexion with the state ; but that, even if she did,—Dissent, with all its monstrous irregularities and enormities, Dissent with its tyrannies and thraldoms, its schisms and revolts, has no room to complain, if he, who is "without fault," is to "cast the first stone."

Another objection to the connexion of the Church with the State is, the supposed consequent abeyance of ecclesiastical discipline. Here again we deny the charge. The case of the Jewish church alone is a sufficient refutation. Or, if this should be denied us as evidence, take the case of the Christian Church subsequently to its establishment under Constantine the Great. Was there in such church any necessary abeyance of discipline. Far, very far from it. Contrariwise that very church, established

* *Church Member's Guide,* by J. A. James, p. 146.

though it was, deposed Arius and condemned his heresy. In like manner it was a state church which condemned a Macedonius, an Apollinaris, a Nestorius, a Eutyches, and a Servetus. It was also a state-church which set forth that noble protest against the Deutero-Nicene iconolotry,—the "Caroline Books." It was a state-church, which resisted the assumptions of the pontiff Agatho. The acts of the Council of Basle were, although the acts of a state-church acts of discipline. The reforms under Henry VIII., Edward VI., Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., and Charles II., were severally but acts of ecclesiastical discipline.

And it is, therefore, simply absurd to affirm that the abeyance of discipline is necessarily consequent upon the constitution of the church with the state. If there is any abeyance of discipline in state-churches, it is *per accidens*, and not *per necessitatem*.

And is there, we ask, no abeyance of discipline in Dissent? Upon the contrary, is not an abeyance of of true discipline fundamental to it. Is not Dissent as various in doctrine as it is in name? And if so, where is its discipline. The end of discipline is the preservation of unity. But where is the *unity* of Dissent.?

Furthermore in doctrinal, as in all other disputes there must be a power to which to appeal in the last resort. But what is the *dernier ressort* of Dissent? To what power does it have recourse in its attempts to enforce discipline? To a power, we reply, the very existence of which is fatal

to the discipline, which, by its intervention, is sought to be established.

For what we demand, is the fundamental principle of Dissidence,—that, namely, which underlies and informs the whole system? The truth *must* be spoken. The initial and fundamental idea of Dissent, is what may be named, the right, or rather power of schism. Without schism—there is no Dissent properly so-called.

Such, then, being the case, we need not be surprised, if in all attempts at ecclesiastical discipline, the ultimate appeal should be to this very power, to the arbitrary operation of which, Dissent may be fairly said to owe its whole past history. What can Dissent do with its heresiarchs? Excommunicate them, it may be said. But, how, if they are indisposed to submit! Can such discipline be maintained? Certainly not. Discipline has for its end the preservation of unity. But this is just the point, at which discipline terminates, and disintegration commences. The law of schism comes into operation, and the temporarily united community splits up into fragments each claiming in turn for itself a like transient and ephemeral integrity of communion. So that at *the* very point, at which discipline is of the chiefest importance, Dissent proves utterly inadequate to its proper maintenance.

Further it is said that state-churchism nullifies the people's suffrage, that is, the suffrage of those who are the constituent members of the church. "According to the

apostolic precedents which have the force of laws among Christians, churches elected their ministers."* To this, we reply, that, in the New Testament, there is no instance of such election, as is here spoken of by Mr. Noel: and that as it seems to us, church legislation in apostolic times in spirit and intention took an altogether contrary direction. The case of Matthias was no case of popular election:—very far from it! That apostle on the contrary was appointed by lot.† Similarly of the other apostles, they

* *Essay on the Union of Church and State*, by B. W. Noel, M.A., p. 183.

† "Be it also observed that on the part of Matthias there was no 'taking unto himself' of the Apostolic 'honour'; but that he was duly 'called of God as was Aaron,' having been nominated first by the Apostles, and then marked out as elected by the Lord's choice announced through the same Apostles, and by them adopted with consentient voices, and 'numbered with the eleven!'..... Thus neither for popular election, nor for the sufficiency of an inward call to the ministry is countenance given by this concurrence: rather it is an argument of the necessity of a call from God, declared by the agency of his authorized representatives, the commissioned governors of the church."—Bishop Mant, *Primitive Christianity*, *ch.* II. § 6.

That here there was no popular suffrage is indisputably evident from the text itself—Acts i. 12, 26. From the 24th verse for example, it is manifest that there was a difference of opinion among "the Apostles and Elders" as to the person most fitted for the office. Two were nominated. But a nomination does not constitute an election, as appears from the next verse, in which it is said—"they prayed—Thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, show whether of these two *thou hast chosen*, that he may take part of this ministry and apostleship." And then in the 26 verse we are told that "they gave forth their lots—ἔδωκαν κλήρους

...e selected and appointed to the apostolate by our ...ssed Lord himself, and by none other; as also were the ... presbyters.* Subsequently the officers of the church, ...t is to say, the bishops, presbyters and deacons, were in ... appointment of those who had already held apostolic ...ik. The seven deacons were thus appointed.† The

...τῶν, and the lot fell upon Matthias; and he was numbered ...γκατεψηφίσθη with the eleven."

The following is the observation of Barnes, a Dissenting expositor, ...on the second clause of the 26 verse—"and the lot fell etc." This" he says, "is an expression applicable to casting lots, *not to ...ting.*" And again of the expression—"*he was numbered, etc,*" he same the commentator remarks that—"It means, that *by the ...esult of the lot* he was made an apostle."

And, therefore, if the appointment to the apostolate was *by lot,* then certainly it was *not by vote.*

Comp. Jonah i. 7. With the expression ψηφιζω from ψηφος—*a pebble,* compare the Latin *calculare* from *calculus.* The Arabs employed small feathered arrows for a similar purpose. Hence, as Jerome tells us, the Greeks called it βελομαντιαν or ῥαβδομαντιαν, comp. Koran Sur. iii. 39, Ezek. xxi. 26.

* Luke x. 1, 7.

† Acts vi. 1-8. Here let it be observed that the Hellenists only nominated the seven: nor did they do this of their own authority. It was not until they had been commissioned by the *twelve* that they even undertook thus much. Then there were special and peculiar reasons why *they* should exercise the right of nomination. The whole affair arose out of a dispute between "the Grecians" and the "Hebrews."

But, as we have seen, a nomination does not constitute an election. The true power of election was vested in the Apostolic

first bishops of Ephesus, Philippi, and Crete, were thus appointed. In short the government of the church was in the hands, not of the people, but of the apostles, and their immediate successors in the apostolic office. Paul in speaking of his own vocation to the apostolate tells us that he was "an apostle, *not of men, neither by man,* but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who" he adds, "separated me from my mother's womb." * The appointment of pastors in the churches of Asia Minor by SS. Paul and Barnabas, is thus recorded by the historian of the Acts "when they had ordained them presbyters in every church and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord." † In like manner we read of no such thing as

college, without whose approval and sanction and ordination the nominees could not possibly have attained to the diaconate. "Look ye out, etc.," said the Apostles, "seven men" the *number* was even prescribed "of honest report, etc.,—*whom we may appoint* over this business."

* Gal. i. 1, 15.

† Χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτερους κατ' ἐκκλησίαν κ. τ. λ. It is said by some that the verb χειροτονεῖν employed in this verse means *to elect by show of hands*; and, therefore, that the passage before us shows "congregational election," to have "been instituted by the Apostles." The "*Geneva Bible*" thus renders it—"When they had ordained them elders by election in every church:" and similarly, *Tyndale*, and *Cranmer*.

Now to all this the objection is valid that χειροτονεῖν can only have one or at most both of two meanings.

1st.—The verb χειροτονεῖν may mean to ordain by the imposition of hands, in which case it = χειροθετεῖν.

"Congregational election" in the appointment of presbyters and deacons to the numerous churches of the Cretan cities. In fact, in the New Testament,—whatever the subsequent practice of the church may have been in given cases, there is no warrant whatsoever for any exercise of suffrage on the part of the people in the appointment over themselves of their spiritual instructors.

Moreover while there is upon the one hand no scriptural authority which can be pleaded in justification of such practice, there is most indubitably upon the other hand a long concatenation of independent considerations, which may be urged, with no little cogency, in its absolute and final condemnation.

A primary consideration is, that in the exercise of any such right of vote by the people, discords, dissensions, strifes, bickerings, and divisions, must inevitably arise. The whole history of Independency is a mournful illustration of this painful truth. When a minister is removed," wrote the late John Angell James, "the choice of a succes-

2nd.—It may mean to select or appoint, as προχειροτονεῖν in Acts x. 41.

But it never could mean "to constitute those whom others have elected." In the text in question it is said that *Paul and Barnabas* elected, ordained, or appointed presbyters in every church,—*not* the churches themselves,—so that which so ever of the two senses of χειροτονεῖν is here understood, Paul and Barnabas, and they only, can be regarded as having appointed to the presbyterate or priesthood.

sor *always brings on a crisis in the history of the church.* No event that could happen, can place the interests of the society in greater peril.....We have been accused of wrangling about a teacher of religion till we have lost our religion itself in the affray ; and the state of many of our congregations proves that the charge is not altogether without foundation." *

Another important consideration is that the people are *incompetent* to the proper exercise of such a privilege. The many—the "profanum vulgus" are they, among whom virtue is ever at its minimum. The whole history of the past is constituted of the biographies of but a few. The multitude are prone. The heroic, the noble, and the great are in but a scant minority. The world has never been at a loss for a crowd, but her geniuses have been born only here and there in the lapse of the ages. The Homers and Miltons, the Newtons and Bacons, the Hannibals and Scipios the Wycliffes and Luthers have arisen indeed, but only like morning stars to shine in solitary splendour, and that in separate and sometimes remote epochs of secular history. Such as these are the natural rulers of mankind, and to these, and such as these only, can there safely be committed the solemn responsibilities of government, whether it be in church or state. The multitude, as

* Church Members' Guide. The same author further confesses, —"Distraction and division of churches have frequently resulted from the election of ministers.....At this '*perilous crisis, secret canvassings, cabals, intrigues, and the most disgusting tyranny, take place.*" Ib. 1st Edit. p. 146.

such, is inherently disqualified, if by nothing else, then certainly by its proverbial fickle-mindedness and vacillancy for the exercise of any such functions :—so much so, that one eminent poet and thinker of antiquity esteemed it as a constituent part of public and social virtue neither to accept nor resign the duties of civil administration at the whim of popular caprice. The educated reader will remember those lines :—

> " Virtus repulsæ nescia sordidæ
> Intaminatis fulget honoribus,
> *Nec sumit nec ponit secures*
> *Arbitrio popularis auræ.*
> Virtus recludens immeritis mori
> Cœlum negata tentat iter via
> . *Cœtusque vulgares* et udam
> *Spernit* humum fugiente pennâ." *

And if these sentiments are true of merely secular offices and duties, how much more true are they of those which are by pre-eminence, *spiritual.*

But the people, that is, the constituent members of the church are incompetent in an equal degree on the score of *ignorance.* As is well known, the members of religious communities are in ordinary unable to make a wise selection out of several candidates for the pastorate. How can they? What sort of judges are they of clerical competence? What can they be presumed to know of theology, biblical criticism, homiletics, and cognate subjects? Many of such church members are utterly incapable of discriminating

* Horatii Carm. lib. III., 2, 17-24.

between sound scholarship and tumid clap-trap! Mere volubility of speech is all that is needed in order to catch the ear of a half or a scarcely half-educated multitude. Let the people but exercise the suffrage and the pulpit charlatan, the turgid declaimer, and the clerical Barnum will inevitably out-distance by no slender majority of votes the quiet, dignified, and accomplished gentleman, scholar, and divine.

"We live in an age," says a writer who deserves to be heard, "in which the most intense and masterly thinkers are compelled to be the quietest; for he only catches the ear of the public who can persuade the many that they are the wise ones,—the most capable judges of all things on earth and in heaven...This drives thoughtful men, who cannot write or talk platitudes into comparative seclusion. There are signs now of a great impatience of intellectual effort—of the self-control implied in the exercise of a calm judgment; men must have things made easy and taking. It is demanded in literature; it is demanded in religion. An author or speaker who makes you feel that you must gather up your powers for a serious work, places you at once in the position of a learner, and demands that attention, diligence, and faith, which a teacher may justly demand from a disciple, has no chance in the present day against the thousands who explain all things.....in a popular lecture or a flippant discourse. I do greatly dread" says the same writer, "this tendency to accept the verdict of a great crowd as decisive of the truth or the spiritual power of a preaching—this in-

trusion into the most sacred region of those principles which are already working such evils in secular life, whereby the goodness of a man's ware is accepted according to the length and strength of his advertisements; and a man's power to guide or rule, are measured by the cheers he may draw from public meetings, or by the shallow claptrap of the hour." *

Now what we have to say, is that, if Mr. Brown and those other more intelligent members of the Independent denomination, of whom he may be taken as a type, "dreads" and dreads "greatly" the "*tendency to accept the verdict of a great crowd as decisive of the truth or the spiritual power of a preaching*,"—and yet by acknowledging the popular suffrage in the election of ministers *does* so accept such "verdict," need there be any surprise if churchmen declare, by their adhesion to the principle of establishments, not only that they "do greatly dread" such tendency, but that like practical men they are prepared utterly and for ever to discountenance it—if, in a word, they are prepared not only lugubriously to bemoan, but also decisively to eschew the evil which comes fraught with such pernicious, mischievous, and disastrous consequences to the best and most sacred interests of the Church?

Another objection to state-churchism, however, is, that there inheres in the system a tendency to the corrup-

* "The Popular Pulpit" by Baldwin Brown, B.A. Compare with this the statements of Dr. Spence.

tion of doctrine. To this we reply by a total denial of the charge. Indeed is it not true upon the other hand that a state-church has through many ages, not only been "the guardian and keeper of Holy Writ," but also a strenuous and able defender of the faith once delivered to the saints? When it is said that the rapid corruption of the church was due to its establishment by the state—the *fact* is ignored that such depravity of doctrine took its rise even as early as the first century of the Christian era. Prior to the existence of any such establishment—the evils attributed to it were already in active operation. During the first three centuries almost every conceivable form of heretical doctrine had received a rapid and sporadic development. And if this process did not come to a sudden pause in the fourth, upon the establishment of the church by the temporal power, it was not because the church as thus established did not oppose to the progress of such error the utmost force of her augmented influence and authority. That the establishment of the church was not its origin or cause, is abundantly manifest from the facts of history, and they are guilty of a grievous anachronism, who endeavour to trace in the patronage of religion by Constantine the Great, the source of heresies and corruptions, which originated as early as the Apostolic age.

"We know" wrote Dr. Chalmers "that contemporaneously with this establishment of religion in the days of Constantine, there was, *not the birth*, but the progress, of a great and general corruption which had its commencement in other causes, two centuries before. There is nothing in the mere

distribution of ecclesiastical labourers over the Roman empire, each working in his proper vocation, and in return for a right and regulated income ; there is nothing in such an economy that can at all account for that fearful degeneracy of the church, which began even in the first century, and which the establishment that took place early in the fourth century did not originate, and, as it appears from the actual history, *could not arrest.*" *

But even, were it proved, which it is not, that these evils took their origin in the ecclesiastico–political legislation of the first Christian emperor, it would still remain to be proved that they *inhered* naturally, and as of necessity *in* such legislation. But *this* never has been, and what is more, never will be, proved. It has been affirmed nevertheless. "*The native and necessary result of all Establishments is,*" writes Dr. Wardlaw,—"*an immensity of merely nominal Christianity,* and the consequent prevalence of false confidence and self-deception. Other evils may be found, some in one Establishment, and some in another, *but this, from their generic nature, is common to all.*" † But a mere *ipse dixit* is no argument. Dr. Wardlaw must have forgotten in making these affirmations, the startling conclusions to which they logically conduct. "The native and necessary result of *all* Establishments is,—an immensity of merely nominal Christianity"—so, at least, we are assured. But was not the Jewish church an establish-

* *Lectures,* p. 16.

† *Dr. Ralph Wardlaw, Lectures,* p. 318.

ment? And was it not made an Establishment *expressly by virtue of the Divine decree?* And if so,—be the exceptional circumstances of such a church, what they may, *that* has been effected by virtue of the Divine decree, the ultimate tendency of which is, to "*an immensity of merely nominal Christianity?*" For since this is "the native and necessary result of *all* establishments," it is therefore by inevitable consequence "the result" in particular of that establishment, which, as no one can deny, owed its existence *ab initio* to the fiat of the infallible Jehovah.

But, as it appears to us, undue stress has been put upon certain abnormal developments incident to the Catholic and Apostolic Church, subsequently to its establishment under Constantine. Now, supposing for a moment that such facts in Church history prove that there inheres, and that of necessity in a state-church, a tendency to doctrinal corruption,—there are also other facts in the church history of a later century, which also prove upon the other hand, that there inheres, and that too of necessity in a state-church a tendency to doctrinal reformation. If we are pointed to the condition of the Roman and Greek churches during the dark ages "for proof of the universal affirmative that there inheres of necessity in state-churches a tendency to self-corruption,—it would be just as valid an argument—that is not valid at all, to point to the German, the Genevan, and the Anglican state-Establishments of the sixteenth century, for proof, upon our part, that there inheres in like manner by necessity in state-churches a tendency to self-reformation. So that it

remains to our opponents either to reject the first of these propositions, or, if it should please them better, to reject neither, but accept both.

Another question, however, yet awaits its answer, which is this—Has Dissent, as such, no tendency to self-corruption? Is not *schism** in itself a form of such corruption? And if so, Dissent has this tendency. For, to cite the authoritative words of John Angell James,—"Dissent is itself fraught with Dissent, and breaks and breaks again into distinct masses, as often as any excitement, local or general, puts the body into motion." Nay more, as if this language were not sufficiently explicit the same author has, elsewhere exclaimed in words, which are at once the awful "charactery" and doom of Dissidence —"*Schism is our sin, and schism our punishment!*"

Again, however,—has Dissent no tendency to corruption? In other words, are *all* Dissenters perfectly and sciupulously orthodox? Is there a veritable unity in their creed? Are they a happy brotherhood knit together into

* 1 Cor. xxii. 25.—Ἵνα μὴ ᾖ σχίσμα ἐν τῷ σώματι. Compare 1 Cor. i. 10.—παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀδελφοὶ.....ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες, καὶ μὴ ᾖ ἐν ὑμῖν σχίσματα. Also, 1 Cor. xi. 17-18.—"Now in this that I declare unto you I praise you not .....For first of all.....I hear that there be *schisms* among you" —ἀκούω σχίσματα ἐν ὑμῖν ὑπάρχειν. See also Gal. v. 20, —where *schisms*—(διχοστασίαι—*separations*, a word exactly of the same meaning as σχίσματα—mistranslated *seditions* in the Auth. v.) and *heresies* are placed in the same category with adultery, fornication, drunkenness, murders, and revellings as "the works of the flesh."

holy fellowship by *one* grand community of faith? Because if so,—we have at last an explanation of the officious pertinacity, with which their nostrums have been thrust upon us. *But*,—and we cannot forbear from this conclusion too, if not,—if not, we say, then we have proof, mournful and cogent enough, that the corruption of doctrine may receive a myriad Protean transformations and developments, and all, be it carefully noted, without the intervention of the state-church principle.

But it has been further urged that the ecclesiastical supremacy of the sovereign is incompatible with that of Christ. This was perhaps one of the strongest of the Puritan objections to the Anglican establishment;—at any rate it was urged with untiring zealotism and vehemence. But in reality as an objection it is null. For in the first instance the headship of the king is held by the Church of England to be inferior and subordinate to the headship of Christ. And subordination is opposed, as such, to the very idea of antagonism or rivalry. But then again—and these two considerations may be considered to be a complete answer to the objection—the kind of headship is different as to its nature. Christ is the spiritual head of the Church—which is his mystical body. The relation which is thus said to subsist is for the present wholly spiritual and invisible. But not so the headship of the temporal king, which is upon the contrary as to its nature neither spiritual nor invisible, but political, external and visible. In the first code of articles this headship was defined in the following terms: "The King of England

is supreme head in earth, *next under Christ*, of the Church of England and Ireland." *

And again in the *Injunctions* set forth by Queen Elizabeth, it is explicitly declared that —"Her Majesty neither doth nor ever will challenge any authority, other than that was challenged and lately used by the said King Henry the Eighth, and King Edward the Sixth, which is and was of ancient time due to the imperial crown of this realm, that is, *under God* to have the sovereignity and rule over all manner of persons, born within these realms, dominions, and countries, of what estate either *ecclesiastical* or temporal, whatsoever they may be." Then further in the XXXVIIth of the *Thirty Nine Articles*, this ecclesiastico-civil-headship is defined to be "*ea tantum prærogativa*—that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all Godly Princes in Holy Scripture by God himself; that is, that they should rule all states and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers." So that, as we see from the documents of the Church themselves, this headship of the church, is only a part of that

* The article of 1552 is worded as follows, in accordance with the acts 26, Henry, VIII., c. i. and 35, Henry VIII., c. iii.,— "Rex Angliæ est supremum caput in terris POST CHRISTUM, Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernæ.

Convocation in like manner only recognized the title— "*quantum per Christi legem licet.*"

civil sovereignty which the King as sovereign may exercise by right "over all manner of persons born within these realms.....of what estate either ecclesiastical or temporal whatsoever they may be." The church as a smaller society being comprehended by the state as a larger society comes equally with the whole of such larger civil society under the sovereignty of the supreme monarch of these realms whether King or Queen.

It is sometimes said, however, that Dissent is no longer in a minority, and that, as the dominant church ought to be the church of the majority, the Church of England ought no longer to enjoy her present prëeminence and power. The answer to this is two-fold, and consists first, in the denial of the *fact*, and secondly, in a denial of the *principle*. As a matter of fact, Dissent certainly *is* in a minority. The Church of England is as yet the church of the nation. But even were this not the case—were the Established church in a decided minority, as it is in Ireland* we are prepared to show that the circumstances of its being in a minority, would be no reason whatsover why it should not be paramount and predominate. Are majorities we demand, invariably in the right? M. Simon shall answer. "*La majorité n'est ni le droit, ni le signe, ni l'apparence du droit : elle n'est que la force.*" * And if so,

* The Church in Ireland considered as only a branch of the *ecclesia Anglicana et Hiberna*—or United Church of England and Ireland, is not even in a minority. It is, in this the true view of it —a branch of the church of the majority.

* La Liberté de Consc. pp, 295, 296.

—if the multitude are not always thus upon the right side in every question of social and theologic science,—it would be sheer fatuity to allow their *will* to decide what shall, or what shall not enter into the legislation of the nation.

No government ought to be the mere tool of the people. No government is made exclusively for the people, but contrariwise the people are made for government. Law is the highest entity in the universe—*law* and not life. Man was created for government, and so a nation is called into existence for the practical evolution of a higher purpose—a loftier idea than any it may find within its own microcosmic self. Being is worse, more contemptible than non-being, except it be well-being. And so the law—is a something superior and antecedent to the will and whim of multitudes. To say, then, that majorities should rule, is in effect to say that the subject is above the laws to which it is his duty to yield obedience,—or, in other words, that the laws are no laws, and that the multitudes, as such, no subjects, but the despots and deities of their own self-will. It is the duty of Governments to *govern* and not to *serve*, —to check sometimes as well as execute the wishes and behests of a nation. A government has, or ought to have a private judgment of its own, which may, or may not be coincident with the private judgment of the subject; it has, or ought to have a conscience of its own, which may or may not coincide as to its dictates with that of the majority of the people; it has, moreover, an inevitable responsibility of it own—a responsibility to Him who has

delegated to it all its powers from which no vote of a great multitude...no huzza of a mighty mob, can ever exonerate it—aye, even in one jot or tittle.

The multitude, therefore, ought not to rule; and a church, to be established, need not be the church of the majority. The true principle of selection ought, upon the contrary, to contemplate not so much the number and power of the adherents of a faith, as the truth and apostolicity of the faith itself. Out of any number of religions the state should select that, and that only which, as to doctrine and polity, approximates most closely to the primitive and apostolic model. The establishment of any form of faith ought to be, and as we take it, in the case before us is, an act of homage not to the multitude, *but* to the truth.

A yet more singular objection to the Established Church is, however, that of its supposed "*multiplicity of orders.*" "We object" wrote Mr, James, "*to the multiplicity of orders.....in the Church of England*.....The gradated hierarchy of the National Church, its Archbishops, Archdeacons, Deans, Rectors, Vicars, with its lay officers of Chancellors, etc., appear to us to be opposed to the simplicity and spirituality of the Church of Christ."* To this it may be replied that the multiplicity of orders here alleged is *toto cælo* suppositious. In the Church of England, as at present constituted, there are only such orders of

* *Principles of Dissent*, p. 20.

clergy neither more nor less, as are found to have existed in the age of the Apostles. Mr. James could not surely have been so ignorant as to suppose that "archbishops, archdeacons, deans, rectors, and vicars," are, "*orders*" properly so called, since the Church recognises but *Three* such orders and no more, those namely, of bishop, priest, and deacon. And these three it thinks it can deduce from the highest primitive antiquity. "It is evident unto all men" to cite the language of the rubric, preceding the Ordination Service, "diligently reading the Holy Scriptures, and ancient Authors, that *from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church; Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.*"

Now, if this is true, as it certainly *is*, then the charge made against the Church of England of a "*multiplicity of orders*" is without foundation in *fact*.

But if we are charged with a "multiplicity of orders" we have yet a more serious charge to make against Dissent which is, that it has no orders at all. Dissent, we believe, has no true clergy. As episcopalians we are held, willing or not willing, to this belief. In our view of the subject there is but one way of entrance into clerical orders, and that is by the ordination of a bishop, himself duly and lawfully ordained and consecrated to his holy office. And this view we are fully prepared to prove, is amply justified by a careful and critical examination of Holy Scripture. That there was a prescribed and settled order in the introduction of men to the ministry in apostolical times, is

what might *a priori* be expected. And the expectation thus formed is not disappointed by an examination of the facts. And the facts are these. No man could, except miraculously as in the case of St. Paul, become either deacon or presbyter except by *ordination*, first as a deacon, and then next as a presbyter, or "elder."* But it may be said could not a presbyter ordain others as deacons and presbyters? Certainly and decisively, no! Nowhere from Matthew to the Revelation is there a single, solitary case of *merely* presbyterian ordination. A presbyter might *concur*† in the ordination of another; but his cheirothesia

* 1 Tim. iii. 13.—οἱ γὰρ καλῶς διακονήσαντες κτλ.—διακονεῖν ist hier, wie v. 10. von der Amtsverwaltung der Diakonen zu verstehen.

βαθμὸν ἑαυτοῖς καλον περιποιοῦνται κτλ. Here καλὸν although positive in form, has by implication a *comparative* meaning, and refers directly to the Presbyterate as a higher βαθμός or ecclesiastical office.—"*höhere kirchliche Amt.*" This is the view taken by Jerome :—"Bonum hic pro gradu majori posuit; sunt enim minores (diaconi)." So also *Bengel* :—"gradum ab humilitate diaconiæ ad majora munera, in ecclesiâ. *Qui in minore gradu fidelis est, ad majora promovetur.*" And this is in like manner the view taken of the passage by *Theophylact, Erasmus, Beza, Grotius, Heumann, Baur*, and others.—*Kritisch exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Test. von Dr. Heinr. Aug. Wilh Meyer, Consistorialsrath in Hannover—Eilfte Abtheilung, p.* 129., 2te *vermehrte Auflage, Göttingen*, 1859.

† A Presbyter, we say, might *concur* with an apostle in the ordination of another: but that is all. In 1 *Tim.* iv. 14. Timothy is exhorted in the following terms :—"Neglect not the gift that is in thee which was given thee by prophecy, *with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.*" This we shall be told is proof positive of the validity of presbyterian ordination. But to this we reply

by itself would not have been held to be sufficient to constitute a valid ordination. Such then being the case, in whom was this power of ordination vested? Our reply is equally prompt. In the apostles and their immediate successors, and in none other! Had

in the words of *Bishop Mant* that "the phrase"—with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, "intimates concurrency only.' Indeed the Greek indicates as much. It is *μετὰ ἐπιθίσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου,—with* a laying on &c." The question' is—were Presbyters *only* concerned in this ordination? Certainly not, as a single reference will decide. For in 2 Tim. i. 6. Paul writes :—"Wherefore I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the gift of God—*τὸ χάρισμα τοῦ Θεοῦ*, which is in thee *by the putting on of my hands—διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν μου.*

Here three things are very noteworthy.

1st.—That the true power of ordination in sole is declared in this verse to have been vested in the apostle.

2nd.—The change of preposition. In 1 Tim iv. 14., we have *μετά with* or *along with*, intimating "*concurrency only*," whereas in the passage before us, we have *διὰ* with a *gen.* expressing the *instrumental cause.*

3rd.—The omission of the Art. in the one passage and its insertion in the other. Where the merely *concurrent* cheirothesia of the presbytery is spoken of, the art. is omitted. We have merely *μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν κτλ.*—"with *a* laying on of the hands of the presbytery. But where the apostolic cheirothesia is spoken of, the article is employed. *It* is *the* cheirothesia *par excellence.* We have—*διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν μου.* The employment of the article is emphatic. The following is the comment of *Bengel*,—"Constr. prophetiam presbyterii, *nam manus imposuit Paulus Timotheo. Impositio manus proprie fit per unam personam et quidem digniorem; prophetia* vero fiebat etiam per equales, per plures." *Comm. in loco.*

the apostles their successors, it may be asked? Certainly they had. What else were Silvanus, Timotheus, and Titus.* And what else were "the angels" of the

* That there were successors in the apostolate no one can with reason deny. Even the name "*apostle*"—*ἀπόστολος* was not limited to those who originally constituted the apostolic college: but was applied *in its strictly technical sense*, to others their successors in the order, as Paul, who himself was not of the twelve, Silvanus and Timotheus. In 1 Thess. ii. 6., for example. Silvanus and Timotheus are designated "*apostles* of Christ." St. Paul speaking in his own name and in the names of Timotheus and Silvanus,—compare 1 Thess. i. 1., says, "Nor of men sought *we* glory, neither of you, nor yet of others, when *we* might have been burdensome *as the apostles of Christ*"—*ὡς Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολοι*. Beza thus translates the passage:—"quum possumus vobis oneri esse, ut *apostoli* Christi." So also Luther:—"als Christi Apostel." Here in exactly and specifically the same sense, in which St. Paul was an "*apostle*," Silvanus and Timotheus are also declared to be "*apostles*". St. Paul, in fact, places their names as in all respects upon an equality with his own. And this view is yet further corroborated in the particular cases of Timothy and Titus by the fact that apostolic authority and jurisdiction over the Ephesian and Cretan churches were reposed in them by the great apostle to whose indefatigable labours those churches owed their origin. Both Timothy and Titus were instructed by St. Paul on the duties of their Apostolic office. Timothy was required to institute both to the diaconate and the then episcopate, or presbyterate—(Tim. iii.)—to order as to the deaconesses (Tim. v. 9.)—and to appoint his own successor in the apostolate (2 Tim. ii. 2.)

Titus was in like manner left in Crete that he might "set in order the things that were wanting, and ordain elders—(*πρεσβυτέρους*—presbyters) in every city." He was required also to enforce the canons of the church:—to sit in judgment upon schismatics and heretics:—to administer the "first" and the "second admonition,"—and finally, if need be, to inflict the penalty of excommunication. (Titus iii. 10.) Titus was in fact their *apostle*.

churches of Asia Minor? And it was therefore only in

Epaphroditus was in like manner the "*apostle*" of the Philippian church. In Phil. ii. 25., St. Paul thus speaks. Having indicated his own desire to visit Philippi, he adds,—"Yet I supposed it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother, and companion in labour, and fellow-soldier, but your "*apostle*," and he that ministered to my wants." There is here an accumulation of epithets shewing the readiness of the apostle to acknowledge his *official equality* with himself, he is called "brother," "companion in labour," and "fellow-soldier." In our Auth. Vers. indeed the clause ὑμῶν δὲ ἀπόστολον is mistranslated "your messenger." Now, that the word ἀπόστολος means etymologically "one sent;" we admit: but there is no reason whatsoever for taking the word in the passage before us, in any other than its usual and strictly technical sense. It may be said that Epaphroditus had actually carried the offerings of the Philippians—and so was in that particular actually their "*Messenger*." And we are not concerned to deny the fact. But does that fact prove that ὑμῶν δὲ ἀπόστολον means here no more than "your *messenger*." We think *not*. Might he not have been both?—that is both their *apostle* and their *messenger*? There was surely no inconsistency between these two ideas such as to require their absolute separation. Upon the other hand it may be that there was on the part of the apostle a sort of *double entendre* in the employment of the word, (apostle.)

Or, as in our opinion is more probable, the word "*apostle*" is here to be taken in its strictly technical sense, and *in that only* as applying to Epaphroditus in his capacity of chief pastor, or bishop of Philippi:—a view which recognizes in the passage no reference whatsoever to the fact that Epaphroditus had been their messenger to Paul, (which he might have been as their bishop), unless perhaps it is contained in the next clause—"and he that ministered to my wants." The view here propounded has received the sanction of the Great Reformer Martin Luther,—who renders, ὑμῶν δὲ ἀπόστολον by "*euer Apostel*." The Peshito gives it a similar rendering—"*dêlqân dên sh'lêchô*—vestrum autem *apostolum*." And the following are the observations of Bishop Mant. "In this sense it is," says the Bishop, "that Epaphroditus was here called the "Apostle" of the Philippians; for by the universal voice of antiquity

the apostles, and in such their successors in the apostolate,

he is recorded as the first bishop of Philippi ; and as such is an example in common with numberless others of that form of government, which was established from the Apostle's age, and continued for many succeeding ages, without exception in Christ's holy Catholick Church, and which we of this country notwithstanding modern innovations have still the privilege of enjoying under God's good providence."—*Primitive Christianity, cap. xxii.* §. 5.

The name changed however, and changed more than once. For in the later writings of the New Testament, this same order of clergy, of which Silvanus, Timotheus, Titus, and Epaphroditus were examples, is distinguished by the name of "angels." This name occurs more than once in this application in the Pauline scriptures, comp. Gal. iv. 14., 1 Tim. v. 21. The Saviour himself applied the designation to the venerable apostle, St. John ; while the merest tyro in ecclesiastical history knows that "*the angel of the Church in Smyrna,*" was none other than the illustrious bishop Polycarp, who by his constancy even unto cruel martyrdom, (vide Encyclic Epist. of the Church at Smyrna, inter Mon. SS. Patr. Apost.)—showed the good heed he had taken to that solemn charge delivered personally to himself, directly from the mouth of the Holy Ghost,—"Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life."

That these "angels" were neither presbyters, nor deacons, appears from the fact that in each of the "*Seven Churches*" there was but *one* "angel," whereas there were in each, as was the custom, several presbyters and deacons. But subsequently the name changed yet again. The "apostles" came, as we have seen, to be called "angels," and so the "angels" came in turn to be called "bishops." The order as such, was not changed, far from it ; but only the name. Hence the same man, who in the Book of the Revelation is called the "angel" of the church in Smyrna, is in two of the epistles of Ignatius the contemporary bishop of Antioch, called no longer "angel" but ἐπισκόπος or "bishop." In the Martyrium of St. Ignatius, Polycarp is called τὸν Σμυρναίων ἐπίσκοπον—"the bishop of Smyrna."—*Martyrium Sancti Hieromartyr. Ignatii Theophori, cap. iv.* It is also noteworthy that sections

that there resided this power of ordination in sole. If the

i-iv. of this *Martyrium* are found in the Syriac version published by the late Rev. Canon Cureton, D.D., from a MS. in the British Museum. Comp. also *Epistola ad Magnesios*, cap. xiv., *Epist. ad Polycarpum*, cap. viii. *Jerome* thus speaks of this venerable bishop and martyr:—"Polycarpus Joannis Apostoli discipulus, et *ab eo Smyrnæ episcopus ordinatus*..... Scripsit ad Philippenses valde utilem epistolam, quæ usque hodie in Asiæ conventu legitur."—De viris illustr. c. 17. *Eusebius* after *Irenæus* testifies to the same effect:—Τῶν Ἀποστόλων ὁμιλητὴς Πολύκαρπος, τῆς κατὰ Σμύρναν ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τῶν αὐταπτῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τοῦ Κυρίου, τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος. *Eccles. Hist. iii.*, 36. *Tertullian*, says that Polycarp was appointed to the episcopate of Smyrna by the *Apostle John*, (vide supra. extract from *Jerome*,) "Edant ergo origines ecclesiarum suarum; evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis vel apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum Apostolis perseveraverint, habuerit auctorem et antecessorem....." sicut *Smyrnæorum ecclesia Polycarpum ab Joanne collocatum refert.*"—De Præscript, cap. xxxii. The word "bishop" thus came to designate those who in the first instance would be called "apostles" or "angels."

That in its very first employment the word "bishop" was used synonymously with "presbyter," we admit. What we affirm is that there were successors to the apostles, as indeed Clemens Romanus testifies;—that they were first called "apostles," then "angels," and finally "bishops;" and that as such they were distinct in grade or order from either presbyters or deacons. They alone *confirmed* the new converts by the laying on of hands—(Compare Acts viii. 14, 17.) they alone had the power of *ordination in sole*. As to the *change of name*, we have the explicit testimony of Theodoret, who says—"Formerly the same persons were called both *presbyters* and *bishops*, and those now called *bishops* were called *apostles*, but in process of time the name of *apostles* was left to those strictly so called, and the name of *bishops* ascribed to all the rest."

Indeed we have the word in its *transition state* in the writings of Clemens Romanus. In section 44, of his *First Epistle* we have

presbyters themselves possessed this power the reason assigned by St. Paul for committing the Cretan Churches to the care of Titus, was after all no reason whatsoever. "For this cause" wrote the Apostle, "left I thee in Crete that thou shouldst.....ordain elders in every city—" a work wholly of supererogation if the elders or presbyters, of whom there were several in each church, were already competent to do that, which was especially enjoined by St. Paul upon *one* man, Titus, and upon him only. And precisely the same reasoning would apply to the individual episcopate of Timothy over the churches of Proconsular Asia.

Such, then, being the case, it is clear that no man could be a true apostle, angel, or bishop, except as he was

those exercising the *episcopate* distinguished from those exercising the mere *presbyterate*. We have in brief ἐπισκοπὴ not only in its original limited sense, but also in *sensu latiori*. It is there said, and the authenticity of this document is not disputed even by our adversaries:—The apostles—οἱ ἀπόστολοι—knew by the Lord Jesus Christ that there would be contention about the name of the episcopate—ὅτι ἔρις ἔσται τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς. And, having received, in reference to this matter perfect foreknowledge, they constituted the aforesaid (i.e. presbyters and deacons) and afterwards—καὶ μεταξὺ gave command, how that, when they themselves should die, other approved men should succeed in their ministry—(i.e. in the apostolate.)—1 *Clementis Rom. Epistola ad Corinthios*, c. xliv.

Here the deacons and bishops (in the earlier sense of the word —i.e. as synonymous with presbyters) are clearly distinguished from those concerning whom the apostles gave command, that they should succeed in the apostolic office or *episcopate*—ἐπισκοπὴ in the later application of the term.

in the succession from those whom our Lord had originally instituted to that highest and holiest of orders in the church militant here on earth. It was clearly not an order in the ministry, which the mere presbyter might arrogate and usurp: but one, to which no appointment was valid, except as it was made regularly and canonically by those, who themselves also had already received such office by due and proper investiture. And if it is true, as we have seen it is, that only men of apostolic rank, call them apostles, call them angels,—call them bishops, or what you will, were from the first vested with the power of ordination in sole,—then the inference is inevitable, that where there is no such angel, bishop, or apostle, there can be no valid ordination, no canonical introduction to the sacred ministry of the church, and, therefore, no true and proper clergy.

But this is precisely the predicament of Dissent. In the separation of Dissent from the Catholic and Apostolic Church of England—it may have carried away with it more than a few duly ordained presbyters and deacons, but certainly *no true bishops*—and therefore, no power to perpetuate its orders: according to the maxim of St. Ignatius, bishop and martyr,—Χωρὶς τούτων (ἐπίσκοπων) ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται—"*No bishop no church.*"* In fact at the

* *Epist. ad Trallian., Cap. iii.* In another place St. Ignatius thus speaks :—ὁ χωρις ἐπίσκοπου καὶ πρεσβυτερίου καὶ διακόνων πρασσων τι, οὗτος οὐ καθαρὸς ἐστιν τῇ συνειδήσει which is in the Latin paraphrase,—"*Qui sine episcopo, et presbyterio et diaconis quidpiam agit, is non est mundus in conscientia.*" *Epist. ib.* Cap. vii. The Dissenters and Puritanists of the present age would do well to take home to their hearts this remarkable utterance of the Antiochian prelate.

very best, Dissent is only nominally (not really) presbyterian in constitution, and as such, has now no true "orders" whatsoever.*

Another cardinal "principle of Dissent" is that it is wrong that those who choose to Dissent should be taxed for the sustentation of a National Church. But *why*, we demand. Because it may be said, they are what they are, *Dissenters*, or, in other words, because they differ in their views and opinions from the Church as by law established: or, it may be said, because as Dissenters they have *conscientious objections* to her doctrine, discipline and ritual! Very good. And now, let us endeavour to determine the actual value of the objection.

There are, as all will admit, members of the state, who entertain conscientious objections to all theistic beliefs, or who are in plain terms, atheists, or antitheists. It may be said, why not extend to such persons a complete immunity from all taxation towards the support of a government, which has conditioned all its legislation upon the belief in one God? May not the atheist take up the

* As to the so-called *deacons*, it is difficult to say in what sense they are entitled to the name. The deacons of the New Testament were apostolically or episcopally ordained. Dissenting deacons never are ordained either canonically, or spuriously. The deacons of the New Testament baptized and preached. Dissenting deacons do not baptize, and never preach except as lay or local speakers. The deacons of the New Testament were clergy. Dissenting deacons are essentially of the laity.

Dissenter's argument, and say, that as he has conscientious scruples as to the paying of imposts and taxes to a government which obtrudes its theistic beliefs into its law processes, and in fact into every part of its public administration, he therefore, ought to be favoured with entire exemption from assessment on the score of such conscientious scruples, ? Might not the atheist, we say, take up this argument? Of course, he might. And ought not the government to be convinced by it of the injustice of its present procedure ? We trow not. It will be some long time we trust, ere common sense will have become so scarce as to permit the governing body of a great nation to see, or imagine that it sees the pertinency of the Dissenterist plea in this special and particular application.

If conscientious scruples were to be allowed to exonerate citizens from the payment of taxes, directly or indirectly, towards the particular object against which the scruples in question were entertained, the state would soon discover that " tender consciences" were not by any means as scarce as theologians and moralists have been accustomed to imagine.

There are to be found men who have *conscientious* objections to every kind of *warfare*, or, who are in other words *peace-men*. As cherishing such objections against warfare, Quakers and other peace-men ought not to be required to pay any tax levied by the government for belligerant purposes. War offends their consciences: therefore, by parity of reasoning, no state upon earth has

any right to impose upon them any impost, tallage, or tax, for the sustentation of any war-like operations. Some again have conscientious objections to poor-rates, to sanitary reforms, to popular education, to monarchical and aristocratic institutions; and, in brief, to almost every detail in our political and municipal administration. And what is the state to do with these Puritanists? Is it to go about feeling the pulse of every and all its subjects before it can decide whether or not it shall execute the laws, which, in the opinion of its wisest statesmen and legislators, were required for the common good. Is law-making to be twisted and modified at the whim and caprice of every discoverer of novelties and scruples? Because, if not, the Dissenter must find a better reason for not paying statutably imposed rates and taxes than that he entertains some conscientious objection or objections to the special object in view of which such rates or taxes have received their legal institution.

Then another question naturally arises, which is,—are the rates in question really and truly the *property* of the church? For property may inhere in a right of levying a rate or toll as much as in corporeal hereditaments or things real and personal. The question then is, are the church-rates, tithes, and other dues really the property in law of the Anglican Establishment? Because if so, it is an act of fraud on the part of any parishioner either on the score of conscience, or any other private consideration to withhold the rate in which the church holds a real property. Church-rates are in law language a species of

incorporeal hereditament,* which may be vested either in natural persons, or in bodies politic ; and which although "incorporeal" are not the less on that account an "hereditament" in the legal and technical sense of the word.

The conclusion, therefore, is, that no citizen with any due regard to the distribution of property actually established, or care for its protection and security, can on the score of *religious*, or what might more correctly be designated fanatical scruples of conscience, venture to derange that distribution by withholding—yes, fraudulently with-

* The subjects of dominion or property in the law of England are *things*, as distinguished from persons ; and things are distributed into two kinds, things *real* and things *personal*. Things real (otherwise called realty) consist of things substantial and immoveable, and of the rights and profits annexed to or issuing out of these.

Things personal consist of goods, money, and all other moveables, and of such rights and profits as relate to moveables." *Blackstone's Commentary on the Laws of England, Book* II., *part* I. Vol. I.—Stephens Edition, p. 156.

Hereditaments then are of two kinds *corporeal* and *incorporeal*. Corporeal consist of such as affect the senses, such as may be seen and handled by the body, incorporeal are not the objects of sensation, can neither be seen nor handled, are creatures of the mind, and exist only in contemplation. *Ibid. Vol.* I. *p*, 159.

Blackstone specifies among incorporeal hereditaments, "*advowsons, tithes, commons, ways, offices, dignities, franchises, corodies or pensions, annuities*, and *rents*." *Blackstone's Commentary, Vol.* II. *p.* 3.

The enumeration in Hale's Analysis, 48, is as follows :— "*Rents, services, tithes, commons, and other profits in alieno solo, pensions, offices, franchises, liberties, villeins, dignities.*"

holding—a rate in which he has legally no more right than in the preserves of a neighbouring manor, or in the toll which his vehicle must pay at the first turnpike through which it passes. For it must surely be regarded as after all a curious order of conscientiousness which would prompt any resident in a parish to withhold the property —be it realty or personalty, corporeal or incorporeal—from those even although ecclesiastics in corporation, aggregate, or sole, in whom such property has been rightly and legally vested.

But this is exactly the case before us. The Dissenter without considering whether the rate he is required to pay really belongs to the church or not, refuses to pay, urging as an apology for the *fraud*, the scruples of, as it seems to us, a far too tender conscience!

Again we ask, are church-rates, *church-property?* Certainly they are. Not to go into detail, suffice it to say, that in the laws of Ina we have perhaps the earliest record of any enactment to supply the exigencies of public worship. Anciently such exigencies had been met by voluntary oblations. Ina's legislature, however, commuted voluntary offerings for a regular assessment upon houses. Every dwelling was to be valued at Christmas, and the rate so imposed, called *church-shot*, was payable on the following Martinmas. Money being scarce, it was usually paid in produce. Defaulters were to be fined forty shillings, and to pay the church-shot twelve fold. And in this pious care of divine ministrations may be doubtless traced the legal

origin of church-rates.* And subsequently, as it is important to observe, the property of the church in these rates has been again and again acknowledged and confirmed by the authorities of these realms both legislative and executive. And if so,—if church-rates *are* church *property*, whosoever withholds them, is fraudulent however *tender* his conscience, or *puritanic* his creed.†

But there is another "principle of Dissent,"—if it is worthy of so euphemistic a designation, which Mr. James shall state in his own words. "Can it be imagined" to cite the language of our author, "that our present parliament is competent, or that any we ever had has been, or any we can ever expect, will be capable of deciding upon articles of faith? Admitting that they are competent,"—and this is the sentiment to which we wish to draw attention, "*is not the exercise of such a power a bad precedent, and a sanction to Popish monarchs in their own view of the case, for establishing Popery; to Mohammedan kings for maintaining Islamism, to Pagan sovereigns, for supporting Heathenism.*"‡ To this enquiry our answer is a decisive and unequivocal negative? For the question

* Compare *Soame's Anglo-Saxon Church, chap.* II. *p.* 92. LL. Inæ 4, 10., *Spelman* 1; 184, 185. *Wilk.* 1; 57. *Johnson sub anno*, 693.

† The reader is referred to further considerations upon this subject, contained in Chapter VII., which to avoid needless repetition, are therefore omitted in this connexion.

‡ Principles of Dissent, p. 19.

discovers a pitiable ignorance of the position actually taken up by the more enlightened defenders of the state-church principle. What is contended for by writers upon our side of the controversy, is, the *right* and the *duty* of every government, whether monarchical, oligarchical, democratical, or mixed, as to its constitution, to profess and establish the Christian religion, in its purest and earliest presentment. This we affirm, is the only principle for which we are concerned to contend! We argue, to speak specifically, that the government of Great Britain has both the right and the power to profess and establish that branch of the Catholic and Apostolic church, now known as the church of England and Ireland. *But* pray tell us, by what oblique ratiocination,—by what tortuous logic have our opponents derived from such a position any—even the slightest sanction for the establishment either of Roman Catholicism, Islamism, or Paganism? Does the establishment of a pure form of Christain faith, discipline and ritual afford a precedent for the establishment of an impure? Does it follow that because a state may establish the religion of the Bible, that it would be equally free, were its conscience sufficiently warped and prejudiced, to establish the religion, say, of the Koran, the Vedas, the Eddas, or the Zendavesta? Is it possible that the difference between right and wrong, truth and error, between light and darkness, between Christ and Belial, and between a pure and a corrupt church is so infinitesimal—so microscopic and inappreciable that the establishment of the one necessarily involves a *sanction* for the establishment of the other? Because if not, the inferences deduced by Mr. James are utterly fallacious and inconsequential.

But it may be demanded, if the government is conscientiously attached to these erroneous systems, what then? Is it not in duty bound to their adoption? We think not. It is not enough to have a conscience committed to a given line of conduct; there must in addition be the assurance that such conscience is well-informed, and that the line of conduct to which it is committed is such as may be pursued without the infraction of any single principle of equity and rectitude. Before a government is committed to the establishment of a creed, it should be very certain that such creed is not only the best within its possible attainment, but also that it is absolute and unmixed truth. There is in fact the duty *to be true* as well as *to be conscientious*.

But we are confronted again with another question, which is,—who is to arbitrate? Who is to decide? But to this we reply, that the question—"What is truth?" is not so much the question of those who cannot as of those who will not answer it. It is the interrogatory *par excellence* of Dissidence. Dissent with its ten thousand factions and schisms, appalled by its own fecundity of error, may well ask for deliverance from itself. Bewildered by its own inextricable wiles, and overshadowed by the darkness of its own inventions,—it may well grope about, taking with it the candle of its own license of private judgment, in order that, if haply, it may find the sun at noon-day.

The point is just this:—Must we believe that with the Word of God in our hands, it is after all really, even

yet an impossible task to attain to religious certitude? In other words are we no better off *with* a Revelation than *without it?* Is it possible that in the nineteenth century with both Testaments in possession we are after all in no better predicament than was the great son of Sophroniscus, whose utmost stretch of knowledge was but a scientific *nescience.* Because if not, the problem, as to who shall arbitrate is not, when all is said and done, incapable of a satisfactory solution. Certitude in religion is attainable. And if Dissent has it *not,* we venture to think the Church *has.*

Chapter XI.

THE NATIONALITY OF THE CHURCH.

If we are asked wherein now consists, or by what signs is attested, the nationality of the Church in England, we answer thus :—

Firstly.—By the necessity that the Sovereign should be a member of it, and that his membership should be ascertained in the true authentic manner, namely through the act of communion.

Secondly.—By the necessity that the Lord High Chancellor, should likewise be of the Church.

Thirdly.—By the coronation service, both in the sense of its terms, and in the performance of its distinctive

act by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or some other Bishop.

Fourthly.—By the presence of the bishops in the House of Lords, on behalf of the national estate for religion.

Fifthly.—By the presence of certain of them in the Privy Council, on the same behalf, officially.

Sixthly.—By the summoning of the Convocation along with the parliament under the royal writ.

Seventhly.—By the terms in which the parliament itself is summoned to deliberate *de arduis rebus ecclesiam et statum concernentibus.*

Eightly.—By the solemn daily worship with which the proceedings of both Houses of Parliament are commenced.

Ninethly.—By the restrictions which the state has imposed upon the enactment of Church laws, and which it could have no title to impose, except upon the supposition of the nationality of the church.

Tenthly.—By her acknowledged liability to certain other restrictions in the regulation of her temporalities.

Elevently.—By the oath of Roman Catholics, which disclaims all intention of using their political powers in parliament so as to be injurious to her.

Twelfthly.—By the declaration which all holders of office are obliged to take.

Thirteenthly.—By the act of union with Scotland.

Fourteenthly.—By the act of union with Ireland.

Fifteenthly.—By the authority of the Ecclesiastical Courts.

Sixteenthly.—By the possession of the tithes, whether we consider them as (to use the phrase of Mr. Coleridge,) *the reserved nationality* for the purposes of religion, or as endowments attached to the persons of the clergy.

Seventeenthly.—By the right to church-rates, for the maintenance of the fabric and conduct of the service.

Eighteenthly.—By several minor considerations, as the opening of assizes by the judges, with attendance at church; and the practice of the municipal bodies generally to resort thither, in smaller or greater numbers, but in their official capacity.*

Now, in these and some other particulars, which might have been named, the Church of England is really and practically established by the state. And although other churches and some religious sects are now in the receipt of government grants, yet none of these, not even

* *The State in its relations with the Church*, by the *Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., late Chancellor of the Exchequer, chap. vii.*, 238-240.

the Scottish church, are in the strict sense of the word *established*. There is but one National Church and that is, the *United Church of England and Ireland*.

But it is noticeable here that certain false interpretations have been put upon the state-relations of the church, rendering necessary perhaps a statement of some of those particulars in which these two great societies still retain their individuality, or negatively in which the nationality of the church does *not* subsist.

The church, as a church, has attributes which are *incommunicable*;—prerogatives which are *incapable of transfer* to any other body. Such are all faculties and powers distinctively ecclesiastical. It has been said that the crown creates the bishops. But, this is not the case. It may issue its *congé d'élire*:—it may nominate to the office. It may by letters patent create its nominee a baron of the realm. But there its power ends. It cannot make the man a bishop. That is the exclusive prerogative of the church; without whose concurrence any such appointment of the crown must be null and void. And this is true not only of introduction to the episcopate, but in fact of introduction to the ministry of the church in whatever grade. So that assertions to the effect that the church is enslaved; and that the crown holds everything in it as regards the *personnel* between its finger and thumb, are both erroneous and slanderous.

And by the way, when it is remembered that a bishop of the Church of England will by virtue of his

office, with a few exceptions, take his place in the House of Peers, it is only just, we think, that the state as a lay patron should have a voice in his appointment. And to judge from the history of what may be called recent appointments, such voice or vote on the part of the state has mostly been accorded with a happy discernment, which has done much to raise the bench to that proud and exalted pre-eminence which it has in these days the distinguished honour to occupy.

And as pertinent to the subject of lay patronage the further misapprehension as to its abuses may as well be here removed. It is said that a subject, whose creeds diverge far from the standards of the church, is permitted to exercise this right. He may be a Dissenter or even worse. To all which it is enough to be able to reply, that such patron is, in the first instance, limited in his selection to the clergy of the church, and to them only: and in the next, is under necessity of making out of such clergy a selection which may meet with the approval and sanction of the diocesan, who may else, as he has a right, refuse to the parson designate that injunction, which is indispensable to his legal possession of the benefice. So that the church is at every point armed against the intrusion into her benefices and other places of trust, of persons who are flagrantly disqualified for their occupancy.

Then more, the nationality of the church does not allow to the state any authority over doctrine. Ours has been

called a *Parliamentary* Church. It has been said that her formularies owe their existence to Parliamentary enactments; but with great injustice and inaccuracy. Parliament, we repeat, has no power to define the church's doctrine—which power is properly vested in Convocation as the legislative and representative assembly of the church. In the very first instance, the Reformation proceeded as much *ab intra* as *ab extra*. And every subsequent revision of the liturgy has originated primarily with the church herself. Parliament has merely ratified her decisions.

But let us take for a moment the case here supposed. Parliament, it is said, has determined everything. It tells the church what she shall teach, and what she shall not teach—what she shall pray, and what she shall not pray. Well if so, Parliament has compiled our liturgy—those inimitable prayers, litanies, thanksgivings, and services; those homilies, articles, and canons ecclesiastic which have been the admiration and wonder of all, but hot-brained sectaries and fanatics: We do not say that this is the case. It is a mere supposition—which, however, absurd, is yet necessary to our opponents. And as such we accept it.

If then parliament has done all this, in the exercise of its supposed right to dictate the doctrines of the church, one conclusion at any rate will be allowed us, which is, that the state is not after all as incompetent on this point as when it suits them, Dissenters are pleased to certify.

Would it not be better were Dissenters a little more self-consistent in their allegations.

But to pass from fancies to facts. The *Liturgy* as a whole was at various times either composed or compiled by the great ecclesiastics and doctors of the Tudor and Stuart periods. The articles in the first form or the forty-two were compiled, in large part from the Confession of Augsburg, by Cranmer, Ridley, and some others of the clergy. In the present form the *Thirty-Nine Articles* were passed through both Houses of Convocation by Archbishop Parker in the year 1562. The *Catechism* again is a translation by Cranmer from that of Nuremburg with subsequent additions by three other dignitaries of the church, the deans Poynet, Noel, and Overall. Similarly in the reign of Edward VI., the *First Book of Homilies*, was drawn up principally by Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer,—and in the reign of Elizabeth, A.D. 1563, a *Second Book* was chiefly composed by the great author of the "*Apologia*," Bishop Jewell. The *Canons* too owe their existence, not to acts of Parliament, but entirely to the decisions of the clergy in Convocation assembled. And in fact, the right of prescribing and defining her doctrinal and liturgical formularies is, and has been the peculiar prerogative of the church. Any change must originate with herself, and not with parliament. Parliament may ratify her decisions,—or, upon the other hand the crown may exercise its right of *veto*. But that is all. And it is thus as the judicious Hooker has said, that —"*The parliament of England together with the Con-*

vocation annexed thereunto, is that whereupon the very essence of all government within this kingdom doth depend; it is even the body of the whole realm; it consisteth of the king, and of all that within the land are subject unto him; for they all are there present either in person or by such as they voluntarily have derived their very personal right unto. The parliament is a court not so merely temporal as if it might meddle with nothing but only leather and wool."*

But here another erroneous impression requires to be removed, which is that the Church as the National Church is supported out of the public revenues. Now, this is not the case:—immensely far from it. It is well known that church property—vast though it is, is wholly or nearly wholly of *private* origin, whether it consists of rate, tithe, glebe, or edifice. Not a little impetus was given to church extension by that great Asiatic, Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, who may be said to have introduced from the east into this country what has since proved its greatest benefit, the parochial system. And the student of Anglo-Saxon history will not be surprised that the property of the church should at an early period, have increased to a very considerable amount,—when it is remembered how liberality in this respect was both recognised and rewarded by the then existing government. The ceorl enjoyed no share in the civil administration either general or local; but yet "if he came to possess five hides of

* *Eccles. Polity, Book viii. chap.* 6., *sect.* 10.

land, *with a church* and mansion of his own," he was admitted to the rank of nobleman or thane.* Would that the civil rulers of the present day, would take the hint, and follow an example so nobly set by our sturdy, common-sense Saxon forefathers.

As early as the reign of King Edgar, about the year A.D., 970, the kingdom generally was already divided into parishes,†—even to the distinction of mother churches. And, "it seems pretty clear and certain that the boundaries of parishes were originally ascertained by those of a manor or manors." A very significant fact. A fact which could scarcely be accounted for upon any other theory than that of the private origin of church property, and in some large measure, of the parish system itself. Indeed the question is set at rest by the testimony of Blackstone. "The lords" he writes, "as Christianity spread itself, began to build churches upon their own demesnes or wastes to accommodate their tenants; and in order to have divine service regularly performed therein, obliged all their tenants to appropriate their tithes to the maintenance of the one officiating minister, instead of leaving them at liberty to distribute them among the clergy of the diocese in general; and this tract of land, the

* Athelstan, *circa*, A.D., 928, granted this rank to those, whoever they were, who in this way provided for the religious instruction of their tenantry.

† Muratori and Fleury have referred the origin of parishes to the fourth century.

tithes whereof, were so appropriated formed a distinct parish.....*Thus parishes were gradually formed and parish churches endowed with the tithes that arose within the circuit assigned.*" *

Church property, then, whether glebe, tithe, rate, or edifice, is of purely private origin, and derivation.‡ It has not been received from the state; and cannot, therefore, without the most atrocious and foul-handed sacrilege, be

* Stephen's Blackstone, vol. I. pp. 110, 111. Compare Ibid. vol. III., p. 115. "When lords of manors first built churches on their own demesnes, and appointed the tithes of those manors to be paid to the officiating ministers, which before were given to the clergy in common, (from whence as formerly mentioned arose the division) *the lord who thus built a church and endowed it with glebe or land*, had of common right a power annexed of nominating such minister as he pleased (provided he were canonically qualified) to officiate in that church of which he was the founder, endower, maintainer, or in a word, patron. And this power is, by derivation of title from the lords of manors, now claimed by many other private persons, and many corporations, both lay and ecclesiastic." Compare also Soame's Anglo-Saxon Church.

† It is cause for thankfulness to Almighty God, that this spirit of private munificence has not died out. In our own day it is possible to point to many most noble acts of individual liberality, in the building and endowing of churches. The names of the late Duke of Northumberland, of Mr. Guinness M.P., the restorer of St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin, of Col. Edward Akroyd, M.P., Sir Walter and Lady James, who have done so much in Durham, and many others are worthy of perpetual remembrance. In most towns there are some examples of similar private liberality. In and about Huddersfield there are from ten to a dozen churches all built by private individuals. In Bradford there are three or four. In Sheffield there are several more. And let us hope and pray that these instances may be a hundred fold increased.

alienated from the church, nor in any way, diverted to other than ecclesiastical uses. It is not in any sense, *national* property; and the state has no more right to deprive the Church of England of tithes, rates, glebes, and other her hereditaments corporeal and incorporeal, real and personal, than it has arbitrarily to deprive the private subject of his liberty, property, or life.

The fact is, that towards the sustentation of the national clergy, whether bishops, priests, or deacons, or towards the erection of parsonage-houses, chapels-of-ease, and churches,—*the government has not for many years, made any grant whatsoever.* What is called the Queen Anne's Bounty is no more than a restoration *to the church of revenues which, through the rapacity* of previous monarchs, had been derived immediately and exclusively from itself,—a work which Her Majesty accomplished "not by remitting the tenths and first fruits entirely, but, in a spirit of the truest equity, by applying these superfluities of the larger benefices to make up the deficiencies of the smaller. And to this end she granted her royal charter, which was enacted by the statute 2 and 3 Anne, c. 11., whereby all the revenue of first fruits, and tenths, is vested in trustees for ever, to form a perpetual fund for the augmentation of poor livings."

And the same may be said of the revenues at present placed at the disposal of the "Ecclesiastical Commissioners." The mistake very largely prevails that these funds are supplied by the government. Many Dissenters so imagine;

whereas the truth is, that the Ecclesiastical Commission Fund is, and was, from the first, the ecclesiastical property of the church as by law established. It neither originated with, nor belong to the government. It is not national, but church property.

Much as Dissenters may cry out about Easter dues, and church-rates, it may be as well to remember that the Church of England, is through government paying very much more towards the sustentation of Dissent, than Dissent is, by all the church-rates exacted throughout the kingdom, contributing towards the sustentation of the church. Let it be remembered that the state is paying annually from £25,000 to £30,000 for the education of Roman Catholic priests in Ireland. Between March 1862 and March 1863, the state expended out of funds towards which churchmen contribute more largely than any other religious community in this country, £17,040 towards the sustentation of presbyterian clergy in Scotland; and towards the sustentation of Dissenters in Ireland, not less than £46,780. And all this is exclusive of large grants for education, made to creeds as diverse in colour as Joseph's coat. During twenty-four years dating from June 1839, the state, or rather the church has paid through the state, her share of grants to sects not recognized by such church, of no less amount than between TWO AND THREE MILLIONS STERLING! So much for the infatuate and wicked policy inaugurated by administrations, which have derelinquished all unity in their religious legislation.

Chapter XII.

CHURCH AND STATE—THEIR SEPARATION.

But we come now finally to enquire whether or not the dissolution, separation, or rather disruption of the church from the state is in any sense either equitable or practicable. What Dissenters think is of course already known. With them the disconnexion of these two societies is esteemed a high and sacred mission which an all-wise Providence has devolved upon them, especially and exclusively, as the only true saviours and liberators of their country. But in the grave opinion of every right-minded statesman—of every true constitutionalist—of every enlightened patriot and philanthropist, the systematic attempt now made to effect such a monstrous innovation on the constitution is regarded as a hideous and an atrocious though masked conspiracy against not so much the

church as against the monarchical and aristocratic institutions of the land. Dissent is no longer loyal; but is implicated in the crusade of republicanism and democracy.* Dissent, we repeat, is no longer loyal. Its eye lingers affectionately on America. Its polity is democratic. Its designs are revolutionary. It sighs—and God grant in vain, for the dominancy of the mob. It only tolerates English History for the sake of its great God Oliver. And should it ever, so far hoodwink the constitutionalists of this country as to secure, through the extension of the franchise, enough power to despoil the church of her present rightful prestige and privilege, the land may soon expect to see a second Barebones' Parliament.

But is the separation of church-and-state either equitable or practicable? Certainly not *equitable*. The Church

* "Aristocracy" wrote the Ecclectic of January, 1844, "and *an Established Hierarchy are but Siamese twins, united by the ligament of exclusiveness.*" Mr. Edward Miall calls the establishment—"a great aristocratic imposture." And again:—"the whole system is looked at as an engine admirably adapted to work out the purposes of an aristocracy.....*The real 'lion in the way' is the aristocracy!*.....*Democracy is a reality;* a state-church is a mere conventionalism."

For further information, compare "the Letters on Dissent," by the Rev. Michael Augustus Gathercole, M.A., Vicar of Chatteris; the admirable pamphlets of the Rev. George Venables, S.C.L., F.R.A.S., Vicar of Friezland, Yorkshire; the well known Lectures of the Rev. J. D. Massingham, M.A., Incumbent of St. Paul's, Warrington;—and "Dissent and Democracy," by Mr. Masheder, B.A., Barrister-at Law, etc., London, 1864.

of England, it ought to be remembered, is as old as the nation. It has grown up with the upgrowth of the constitution, the novity of Dissent is upon the other hand an historical fact. Dissent, we say, with its scaly brood of sects, schisms, cabals, factions, coteries, conclaves, and cliques, is but a sporadic—a fungus upstart of the Tudor period. But the Church of England has been the church of the nation for nearly two thousand years. Derived as to doctrine, discipline and ritual from the church of Asia Minor, she was doing a mighty missionary work both in these isles and upon the continent, long before the pretended introduction of Christianity into these realms by Augustine and his monkish confraternity. Her bishops were present at the Council of Arles, A.D., 314, at the Council of Nicæa, A.D., 325, and at the Council of Ariminium, A.D., 359. In Wales alone there were established prior to the Augustine mission not fewer than five Welsh bishoprics—those respectively of St. David's, Llandaff, Llanbadarn, Bangor, and St. Asaph. In Ireland the church had been more or less formally established through the labours of Patrick; and in Scotland through the influence of the not less illustrious Columba, and the other clergy of Iona, —all prior to the arrival of Augustine.

While subsequently to that event the British Church was in the year 635* established by Oswald in Northumbria,

* In A.D. 635, Aidan a British clergyman was consecrated, by command of Oswald King of Northumberland, the first bishop of Lindisfarne, and was succeeded in his episcopal office by bishops

by Sigebert in Essex, and by Peada in Mercia. So extensively, indeed, did British Celtic Christianity prevail that only *two* counties north of the Thames,—those of Norfolk and Suffolk—ever came under Roman superintendence during the period of their transition from paganism to Christianity. Every other county from London to Edinburgh has the patriotic gratification of pointing to the ancient British church as its nursing mother in Christ's most holy faith.*

And as to the Anglo-Saxon branch of the Church, it was established first of all in Kent, probably in the year 597,—when, at the convention of the great authorities, *cum concilio sapientium*, there were enacted the laws, which are generally known as the "*Dooms of Ethelbert*," —an example, which was in no long time followed up in the other Kingdoms of the Heptarchy, so as indeed, in some instances to replace the original Celtic clergy by those identified with the Italian mission.

Eventually, however, the two branches of the church, notwithstanding their ritualistic and traditional differences, agreed in a council assembled at Hertford, upon the terms of compromise and amity—thus giving to posterity a Celto-

Finan and Colman ; while in Mercia by the mandate of the Mercian King. another British clergyman, Diuma by name was consecrated first bishop of Mercia, and was succeeded in his episcopate by the British prelates Cellach, Trumhere and Jaruman.

* Rev. H. Soames—*Anglo-Saxon Church*, pp. 58-59.

Saxon-Church, of which the Church of England is the sole representative in lineal and uninterrupted succession.

And this Celto-Saxon Church, like the individual branches of which it was the union, was to all intents and purposes an *established* church. Her prelates sat in the *Witanagemot*, and were by virtue of their office, concurrently with the earls, or aldermen, judges in the county courts, having as their assessors the thanes or noblemen resident within the shire. The right, therefore, of the prelates of the English Church to a legislative seat which has descended to them from the long line of their predecessors, is founded,—*not* in that Norman policy which converted episcopal endowments into baronies—for under William, upon the contrary, episcopal privileges were abridged;—but upon the most venerable national prescriptions. It is derived, in a word, from a period far more ancient than that of the Conquest, being rooted in the midst of the very foundations of the monarchy. And as to the other clergy, they were in like manner confirmed, by innumerable acts of the Saxon legislature, in their right and title as well to rates, privileges and immunities as to the tithes, glebes, and other hereditaments, which had become inalienably theirs as usufructuaries, through the munificence and piety of individual and private donors.

Prescription alone, and by itself, gives a title to property; but the Anglican Church holds all her rights as indefeasable, not only on the ground of immemorial *prescription*, but also of *parliamentary enactments*, con-

firmatory of such rights, extending through the Saxon, Danish, Norman, Plantagenet, Tudor, Stuart, and Brunswick dynasties.

To corroborate these animadversions it is only necessary to consider a single illustrative example, say, that of the Great Charter of King John, which Hallam correctly characterizes as—"THE BULWARK OF ENGLISH LIBERTY!" To the thirty-ninth* article of that Charter every student of constitutional history must point with pride and patriotism as to "an article," to cite the words of De Lolme, "so important that it may be said to comprehend the whole end and design of political societies." But more, the same document, which secured the political freedom of England, confirmed also the foundation of civil government, by the scarcely less important clause relating to the summoning of parliament. In this it was provided that the council of state should consist of the prelates and nobles of the realm, who were to be summoned—"*ad certum diem, scilicet ad terminum quadraginta dierum ad minus, et ad certum locum.*" And among these prelates of the realm the Charter enumerates—"*archiepiscopos,*

* "Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel imprisonetur, vel dissesiatur de libero tenemento suo, vel libertatibus, vel liberis consuetudinibus suis; aut utlagetur, aut exuletur, aut aliquo modo destruatur; nec super eum ibimus, nec super eum mittemus, nisi per legale judicium parium suorum, vel per legem terræ."—*Magna Carta*, Cap. XXXIX.

episcopos, abbates,"†—or, Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots.

Thus, we see, the church was not left unrepresented. As in the Anglo-Saxon times, so now the civil polity was wisely continued upon its Christian basis. In brief, the clerical estate was by this important legal document recognised and perpetuated as an integral constituent of the British parliament, And what is the conclusion, to which these facts inevitably conduct? Just this, that the rights of the Church are chartered by as high an authority as the rights of the subject; and that, if *Magna Carta* is "the bulwark of English liberty," it is to an

† "Faciemus summoneri archiepiscopos, episcopos, abbates, comites et majores barones regni sigillatim per literas nostras. Et præterea faciemus summoneri in generali per vicomites et ballivos nostros, omnes alios, qui in capite tenent de nobis."

At the dissolution of monasteries by Henry VIII., the spiritual lords comprised twenty-seven mitred abbots and two priors. These, as of course is well known, are unrepresented in the Upper House. And not without good reason. Monks ordinarily were not members of the priesthood. Anglo-Saxon History shows the Benedictines to have been intruders. The Reformation, therefore, affords no precedent bearing either upon polity or station, for interference with the clergy, termed secular by the Romanists. Of that ancient body, the present ecclesiastical estate of England, is the lineal successor and the lawful representative. The exclusion of abbots, therefore, from such ecclesiastical estate or spiritual peerage, was no more than a return to that order which had originally prevailed. Vide SOAMES—*Anglo-Saxon Church.* DE LOLME—*The Constitution of England.* HALLAM—*Middle Ages.* BLACKSTONE—*Commentaries on the Laws of England.* SHARON TURNER—*History of the Anglo-Saxons.* etc., etc.

equal extent not less the bulwark of the English Church? If the one is impregnable, so is the other. If it is inviolable as the charter of liberty—is it not equally inviolable as the charter of the Church?

The prestige, and privilege, then, enjoyed by the Church of England as the church by law established, having been confirmed by the legislation of every dynastic period of English history, cannot without sacrilege, impiety and injustice, be withdrawn from her, except upon one condition, that namely of her having herself, voluntarily and freely, in her united and representative capacity, yielded to such innovation her own cordial and unfeigned consent.

But it may be said, is the Church of England doctrinally the representative of the church in Anglo-Saxon times? In all essential particulars, most certainly. The Reformation made no very great change in our Church's doctrine. For it was one of Theodore's earliest cares to settle our national establishment upon the principle of assent to the decisions of the first four Œcumenical councils:—exactly the same doctrinal basis, which was laid down by the Reformers. At Calcuith, it is true, this basis was somewhat extended, assent being there given to those of the first six general councils:—although as Elfric subsequently shows, this extension was not viewed as interfering with Theodore's original principle. It was, in fact, only a fuller admission of those doctrines, which by

the consent of ages, have been held and pronounced as orthodox.

In one capital article of faith, the Reformation certainly effected a signal change. It banished the belief in transubstantiation. But this was merely a return to the position of the Celto-Saxon Church. For there is no evidence that such church ever held this doctrine. Why, even in the Roman Catholic Church it was not declared to be dogma until the IV Lateran Council convened under Pope Innocent III., A.D., 1215. It may indeed have been entertained as *opinio pia* by individual members, not of the Roman only, bnt of many other churches—but that only goes to show that it was not in any proper sense, accredited church-dogma. Indeed, when in the ninth century Paschasius Radbert raised this very question, it was vigorously opposed not only by Radan Maur and Ratramn in France, but also in England by Johannes Scotus Erigena, who was under the immediate patronage of Alfred the Great, who, like Charles the Bold, from whose court he had allured him, entertained, of course, no objection to his eucharistic doctrine. And about a century later, in certain *Homilies* put forth by Elfric, for delivery from ordinary English pulpits the doctrine of Ratramn is both clearly and strongly put. Both in France and England Radbert's doctrine was esteemed a neologic innovation. And hence Elfric's homilies, although founded upon Ratramn, excited no remonstrance; but upon the contrary, when submitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury were

approved, showing them to have contained no doctrine incompatible with the then recognized Anglican theology.*

In like manner the Anglo-Saxon Church repudiated image worship, the adoration of the eucharist, and the Papal supremacy. Even in Elfric's time, that is in the first half of the eleventh century, neither the doctrine of purgatory, nor the invocation of saints had received any dogmatic sanction. Indeed a belief in purgatory was not declared an article of faith, if we recollect rightly, by any earlier council than that convened at Florence in the year of our Lord 1438. Nor was its penitential system as introduced and established by Theodore of Tarsus, a man rather of Asiatic than Roman sympathies, in any of its essential features, the same as that which was afterwards incorporated into Romanism by the Decretals of the Council of Trent. So that we are fully justified in concluding in the words of a learned historian that "*England in leaving Rome, regained substantially her ancient faith.*"

That the Church of England was always protestant will scarcely need any proof on our part to those having any acquaintance with its actual history. The cases of

* Berenger, a contemporary writer of the eleventh century, denounces Paschasius as a foolish errorist, and leader of errorists.

"Berengarius in primis in ipsum infensissimus fuit, *ineptum Paschasium erraticum et erraticorum ducem* appellans, homo linguæ petulantioris." Mabillon, Acta SS. Ord. Bened. vii. cited by Mr. Soames—*Latin Church in Anglo-Saxon Times.*—p. 404.

Resistance to Papal Authority are neither few nor far between. Who does not recollect how the British bishops responded to the arrogant proposals of Augustine by the statement that "they would comply with none?" "*At illi nihil horum se facturos esse*.....respondebant." Who does not remember that while Pelagianism was sanctioned by Zosimus at Rome, it was condemned at Carthage and denounced in Britain? Nor how, when Wilfrid came from Rome with a Papal brief from Pope Agatho re-instating him in the episcopate from which, as in the case of Winfrid, he had been deposed by Theodore,—the brief was despised, and the ambitious Wilfrid ignominiously imprisoned? Nor yet again, how, when his *Infallible* Holiness, Pope Adrian I., in conjunction with the Empress Irene of Constantinople during the minority of Porphyrogenitus, sent his sanction to the Deutero-Nicene canons decreeing image-worship,—the whole of transalpine Europe, Britain not excepted, denounced the "*pseudo-synod*?" For not only did the Council of Frankfort, summoned by Charlemagne, in 794,—at which British prelates were present, formally and contemptuously condemn, in the hearing of two Papal legates, the deutero-Nicene doctrine; but the English clergy in a synod, assembled by Offa, also themselves both formally pronounced the canons of the second Nicene Council a grievous disgrace to Christianity, and also delegated to the learned Alcuin the task of defending the position which in common with Western Christendom, they had taken up,—a task which that most illustrious scholar is reputed to have ably performed in a work entitled the *Caroline Books*.

But more, the Church's protestantism did not terminate here.

We have it in the resistance rendered in the reign of the Conqueror to the mightiest of the Gregories, the ambitious Hildebrand. It was then decreed that no bulls should be published, no councils convened—no canons enacted without the King's consent. Under the First Plantagenet we have in like manner, the *Constitutions of Clarendon*. Under King John we have the independence of the Church recognized and confirmed by *Magna Carta*; when Archbishop Langton, despising the remonstrance of a not less powerful pontiff than Innocent III., taught the craven Lackland a better lesson than that of vassalage to the *Holy* see. Under Henry III., we hear of a bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grossetête by name, proclaiming the Pope to be the Antichrist, and have recorded the *Confirmatio Cartarum*. Under Edward I. we find the clergy were prohibited by legislative enactment from sending money beyond the seas, or in other words from contributing funds to the Papal exchequer. Edward II. too, as history informs us, lost his crown like James II., for his want of adhesion to the protestant principle. Under Edward III. we have such anti-papal enactments as the *Statute of Premunire* and the *Statute of Provisors:* and such protestant writers as Wycliffe and Chaucer,—the illustrious contemporaries of a Dante, a Petrarch and a Boccaccio. Under Richard II., we have the celebrated 16 Richard II. c. 5., or the fuller enactment of the Statute of Premunire, of which the 26 Henry VIII. c. 1., was but the revisal and

ratification. Under Henry IV. we have similarly a a statute 6 Henry IV. c. 1., which was passed expressly to prevent and restrain the pretensions of the pope, and which calls the payment of *primitias*, *annates* or first-fruits a horrible mischief, and damnable custom. While in the reign of Henry VI., a bishop was found at the head of the protestant cause, boldly declaring in the fifteenth century what Columba had not less distinctly declared in the sixth, namely that the Bible is the only Rule of Faith.

In fact, whatever, the practice of the Church of England may have been now and then in the course of its history, in constitution it has ever been *Protestant*: so that the corruptions, which, through the craft and zeal of the Vatican, did prevail especially as we approach the period of the Reformation—were mere excrescences, mere accidents, adventitiously attached to the church, but alien alike from its constitution, both as a church and as an establishment. The Reformation was not a revolution, and affords no precedent for revolutionaries; but was simply a return to the ancient position—the true constitution of the Church with the State.

But it may be said, was not the great bulk of the property of the Church left to it during the time of its greatest corruption? And is not the Roman Catholic Church, therefore, rather than the Anglican its lawful inheritor in equity? Most certainly, *not*. The chief portion of the church's real property was bequeathed to

her in Anglo-Saxon times:—long before Rome itself had contracted its later corruptions. To speak only of her territorial estates, not less than *one-third* of the soil had become church property in the reign of Edward the Confessor. At the time of the Conquest it had increased to the enormous proportion of *seven-fifteenths*.

As, therefore, the Church of England is the sole representative of the Anglo-Saxon, or Celto-Saxon Church, in doctrine, in discipline, and in constitution, so at the Reformation she lawfully and equitably continued to hold in possession whatever of the ecclesiastical estates escaped the ruthless hand of spoliation and sacrilege. Nor are her honours, immunities, and privileges less than her other temporalities her legal, and inalienable inheritance. From the very infancy of the British constitution her prelates have inherited and occupied the legislative bench. No temporal peer enjoys his peerage on nearly as ancient or as incontestable a title. And as whatever is given to the church is irrecoverably thus given,—is thenceforth separated for ever to pious uses, so it must be held to be, not only contrary to equity, but to piety and even decency, to seek, as the *Liberation Society* is seeking, the abolition of her prestige, the alienation from her for ever of her ancient and lawful inheritance, and the misappropriation of such inheritance to wordly and secular uses.

But, is the separation of the Church from the State even practicable? That it would be contrary to equity—

we have abundantly demonstrated. Would it then be practicable? Is the *Liberation Society* essaying, what may be accomplished without the total dismemberment and dissolution of civil society? Is their avowed design honestly practicable? That is to say, is it attainable consistently with the security and stability of the commonwealth? Our answer is most unhesitatingly in the negative. Their aim is, whether they are cognizant of the fact, or not, at nothing less than mob-rule, terrorism, and revolution. Nor is this a mere averment. The proofs are numerous. Let us examine but a few.

The bishops are, as we have already seen, by corporate hereditary right, *spiritual* peers. But, they are something more. They constitute in their collective capacity, a *distinct estate* of the realm,—a fact, which as we shall see by and by, is of the utmost importance in determining the practicability of any attempt at separation between church and state. "The constituent parts of a parliament are" says Judge Blackstone, "the king, or queen regnant, sitting there in royal political capacity, and the *three* estates of the realm; *the lords spiritual,** *the*

* As to the duties of the archbishops and bishops as spiritual peers, we may here cite the impressive words of the Rev. and Right Worshipful Chancellor Burton:—"The main design of their reception into that house, signified by the title and appellation of its members, 'the lords spiritual and temporal,' is that they should guard the well-being of the Church; being vigilant in all that relates to it; instant in the resisting of whatever would bar its usefulness, and in the suggesting and urging of whatever would render itself and the labours of its ministers more hopeful to the

lords temporal, who sit together with the sovereign in one house, and *the commons*, who sit by themselves in another. And the sovereign, and *these three estates, together, form the great corporation, or body-politic of the kingdom*, of which the sovereign is said to be *caput, principium, et finis.*"* "*The lords spiritual are*" says the same great legal authority, *in "the eye of the law, a distinct estate from the lords temporal, and are so distinguished in most of our acts of parliament.*" The spirituality, then is, in the actual constitution of parliament, a distinct estate of the realm; and as such is legally *indestructible*. Parliament is wholly destitute of any power to alter the constitution: and more especially so to alter it, as to abrogate the first, or ecclesiastical estate. For such estate was not in the first instance created by parliament, and it takes as high a power to annul as to enact. The commons never possessed the power to create peers either spiritual or temporal. *That* is exclusively a royal prerogative. But even supposing that it had possessed such power, just as the crown is admitted to possess it, yet it would be impossible to found upon such prerogative any right or power to modify or alter the existing constitution. For any attempt

interests of all. No default in any of these respects ought to be made by them; they represent the Church; and it is for them, without fear or favour, to speak the voice of the Church in that august assembly."—The Supremacy. A charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Carlisle at his Visitation in September, 1866. By Charles James Burton, M.A., Chancellor.

* *Commentaries on the Laws of England (Stephen's Edition) Vol. II. p.* 356.

to modify the constitution to the extent of the destruction of any one of its essential constituent elements, is an attempt not at reformation, but at revolution. And yet, this revolutionary design has been, and is still publicly and deliberately avowed by the political dissenters of the day! This is the meaning of "*Liberation.*" Nay, sooth to say, it has been sought to pass a measure through the House of Commons to effect this end. On the 13th of March 1834, a Mr. Rippon actually moved a bill—"*To relieve the Archbishops and Bishops of the Established Church from their legislative and judicial duties in the House of Peers.*"—This was seconded by Mr. Gillon and supported by fifty-eight members. And since then two other motions made respectively in 1836* and in 1837† contemplated the same issue, to wit, the expulsion of all prelates from their seats in the House of Lords.

But, as it appears to us, such measures are *ab initio* null and void. They contemplate a breach of the constitution. They assume the existence in the Commons of powers, wholly alien from its prerogative and jurisdiction. And even if such measures did not contain these utterly false assumptions, they must necessarily fail in virtue of their *unconstitutional* character. It would be just as

* In this year Mr. Rippon renewed his motion of 1834, which was supported by 55 votes.

† Mr. C. Lushington re-introduced Mr. Rippon's motion, and gained 94 votes, comprising all the leading Radicals, Dissenters and Romanists in the Lower House.

legitimate, were Mr. Bright to introduce a bill for the relief of Her Majesty of all regal, legislative and judicial responsibilities and prerogatives :—as it is to talk of "*relieving* the Archbishops and Bishops of their legislative and judicial duties in the House of Peers." * Yes, and what is more, we shall soon see that if the Commons can relieve Bishops it can also relieve Kings. For where is this revolutionary legislation to terminate ? If the third estate of the realm should ever become dissenterist enough to dispense with the first, it will not be long ere it dispense with the second. For neither the crown nor the aristocracy would long survive the Church. The separation of church and state is, therefore, upon the grounds already stated, as a question of legislation, impracticable. It is only accomplishable on the conditions of the great Cromwellian experiment of the seventeenth century.

There is, however, a further ground, upon which all attempts at anti-state-church legislation in the Lower House, are unconstitutional.

All such measures, as every one must admit, affect, ultimately at least, the privileges of the peers. In fact,

* It should not be forgotten that, as a sort of set-off against the baronial rank of the bishops, the inferior clergy suffer a corresponding political disability. A clergyman, in virtue of his Holy Orders, cannot sit in the commons as a burgess. Many of the clergy could by their rank, wealth, and popularity, obtain election as members of parliament, were they not, as clergy, disqualified. A clerical element in the lower house of parliament would be of very great advantage :—let it not be forgotten, however, that this disqualification exists.

their aim is to abolish entirely and for ever one of the two estates of which the peerage is constituted. And if that is not a blow at the rights of the peerage, pray what is? To confine ourselves for a moment to the motion of Mr. Rippon, it is sufficient to remark that as that motion sought "to relieve"—happy euphemism—"the archbishops and bishops of the established church from their legislative and judicial duties in the House of Peers,"—or in other words directly and immediately affected the rights of the peerage, it ought never to have been allowed even a first reading in the Lower House. For according to the *lex et consuetudo parliamenti*—"*all bills that may in their consequences in any way affect the rights of the peerage are to have their first rise and beginning in the house of peers*, and to suffer no changes or amendments in the house of commons, which has, however the power of rejecting them.*" Indeed to cite again from the same high authority,—"The whole of the law and custom of parliament has its origin from the one maxim, *that whatever matter ariseth concerning either house of parliament ought to be examined, discussed, and adjudged in that house to which it relates* and *not elsewhere*. Hence for instance the Lords will not suffer the Commons to interfere in settling the election of a peer of Scotland, the Commons will not allow the Lords to judge of the election of a Burgess."

* *Blackstone.—Commentaries, (Stephen's Edition.) Book IV., Part i., Chap. i.* § 4.

The fact, then, is that it is only by a breach of order that any bill for the separation of church and state can find introduction into the House of Commons. Such a bill can only properly originate in the House of Peers. And, therefore. such commoners as Mr. Rippon, may spare themselves their prodigious efforts for the "RELIEF" of the spiritual peers, since, when the latter are tired of their legislative and judicial duties—the means of "relief" lie in their own hands, and more especially since, if that were not the case, they are not at liberty, while they care to respect the forms of the constitution, to accept any "*relief*" Bill at the hands of any commoner—the illustrious Mr. Rippon not excepted—however anxious he, or any other of that "Bright'i phalanx of liberators and patriots, may be to extend this inestimable benefit. If bills such as these may begin in the House of Commons in open violation of the law and custom of parliament, there is no earthly reason why money bills may not in like manner begin in the House of Peers,—tenacious as the Commons have at all times been of this their peculiar privilege. The conclusion therefore, which is inevitably thrust upon us, is that all bills for the separation of the church from the state introduced into the house of commons are introduced in direct contravention of ancient constitutional forms, and are in their ultimate tendency, covertly it may be, but really, nevertheless, at once mischievous, unconstitutional, and revolutionary.

Furthermore, however, it will be remembered that in the reign of Queen Anne, twenty-five articles of union

agreed upon by the parliaments of both kingdoms, were ratified and confirmed by statute 5 Anne, c. 8., in which statute there were also two acts of parliament recited; the one of Scotland, whereby the church of Scotland, and also the four universities of that kingdom are established for ever; the other of England 5 Anne, c. 6., whereby the acts of uniformity of 13 Eliz. and 13 Car. II., except as the same had been altered by parliament, and all other acts then in force for the preservation of the Church of England, are declared perpetual. And it is enacted that these two acts "*shall for ever be observed as fundamental and essential conditions of the union.*"

Therefore, any alteration in the constitution of either of these churches, or in the liturgy of the Church of England, unless with the consent of the respective churches, collectively or representatively given, would be an infringement of these "fundamental and essential conditions," and would endanger the stability of the Union. So sacred, indeed, are the laws above mentioned for the protection of both churches that in the Regency Acts respectively of 1751 and 1765, the Regents are disabled expressly so from assenting to the repeal or alteration of either of such acts, or of the act called the Act of Settlement.

And similarly of the Act of Union with Ireland,—39 & 40 Geo. III., c. 67. By that act it was provided among other articles—"that the Church of England and Ireland shall be united into one Protestant episcopal church, to be called the United Church of England and

Ireland—that the doctrine, worship, and discipline shall be the same,—and that the *continuance and preservation of the United Church* as the *Established Church of England and Ireland* shall be deemed *an essential and fundamental part of the Union.*"

And now what is it that Dissenters are attempting but a downright breach of these "essential and fundamental conditions?" "The continuance of the United Church as the Established Church" is, as we have shown, a condition of our Union with Ireland. And yet, Dissenters are toiling with an assiduity worthy of a better cause, to infract that condition, and in so doing, to disturb and perhaps destroy the security of these realms. They hate the church, and are bent upon her destruction, although such a seditious design can never be accomplished except by the disruption and dismemberment of the kingdom. They would relieve the Lords spiritual of Ireland of their baronial duties—although cognizant of the fact, that, in such a revolutionary experiment, they must subvert the established order of the state, and destroy the integrity of the empire. The Gunpowder Treason was as nothing in comparison with the revolutionary schemes—the retrograde reforms of certain political malcontents, which are even now in process of development against the laws, principles, and institutions of our ancient and venerable constitution.

It is in vain that Liberationists parade their loyalty and attachment to the throne. "By their deeds shall ye

know them." Can the nation easily forget O'Connell's Repeal bill, or Mr. Ward's "Appropriation Clause" of 1834, or Mr. Rippon's motion for the "Relief" of Bishops and Archbishops? Is it an evidence of loyalty to deny the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown? Is it constitutional to seek deliberately and avowedly the extinction from parliament of the First Estate? Or, to attempt the infraction of the conditions essential to both Acts of Union? Are these, we demand, evidences of loyalty? Because if so, then *they* are the best patriots, who, in the words of D'Urfey :—

> ....."Love Commonwealth, as they hate common prayer;
> That can in a breath, pray, dissemble, and swear."

But, another question here arises of the utmost importance to our present enquiry. That anti-state church legislation is impracticable, politically speaking, must have already appeared from the foregoing facts and considerations. The height of its impracticability and incongruity remains, however, as yet to be discovered.

Premising for a moment that any such measure as the "Relief" Bill of Mr. Rippon had actually passed through the Lower House, and afterwards the House of Peers—which latter event could never happen until the temporal lords had made up their minds to cut their own throats —even then could the Bill, by any possibility, aside from the question of revolution, become the law of the land? Could it in a word, receive the Royal sanction? Has the crown any power to assent to such a bill? Let us see.

By the Convention parliament of 1688 it was declared that King James II., had broken "*the original contract* between king and people." That monarch had attempted the establishment of popery in open contempt of his Coronation Oath, in consequence of which act he was thenceforth *de jure* no longer King. For unswerving and unconditional adhesion to the protestant episcopal church by law established was prior as well as posterior to the time of the Revolution a "*fundamental and essential condition*" of tenure of the crown.

The Convention in Scotland drew the same conclusion as that of England, only in language much more bold and explicit. Their opinion was declared in the following terms—"The estates of the kingdom of Scotland find and declare, that King James the Seventh, *being a professed papist did assume the royal power, and acted as a King, without ever taking the oath required by law,*—and had by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors invaded the fundamental constitution of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal and limited monarchy to an arbitary despotic power ; and *had governed the same to the subversion of the Protestant religion,* and violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends of government, whereby he had forefaulted the crown, and the throne was become vacant."

Accordingly whatever "the original contract" may or may not have been,—its terms and conditions received at the Revolution a fresh and explicit definition. By

1 William & Mary, statute I., c. 6., it was enacted that the *Coronation Oath* shall be administered to every king and queen, who shall succeed to the imperial crown of these realms, by one of the archbishops or bishops of the realm, in the presence of all the people, who on their parts do reciprocally take the oath of allegiance to the crown. The *Coronation Oath* as now prescribed by law.

The archbishop or bishop shall say :—"Will you "solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this "kingdom of England, and the dominions thereto belonging "according to the statutes in parliament agreed on, and "the laws and customs of the same?"

The king or queen shall say :—"I solemnly promise "so to do."

Archbishop or bishop :—"Will you to your power "cause law and justice, in mercy, to be executed in all "your judgments?"

King or queen ;—"I will."

Archbishop or bishop :—"Will you to the utmost of "your power maintain the laws of God, the true profession "of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion "Established by the law? And will you preserve unto "the Bishops and Clergy of this realm, and to the "churches committed to their charge, all such rights and "privileges as by law do or shall appertain unto them, or "any of them?"

After this the king or queen, laying his or her hand upon the Holy Gospels shall say :—"The things which I have here before promised I will perform and keep ; So help me God : "—*and then shall kiss the Book.*

Here then the monarch accedes to the crown only on condition of an oath taken publicly and solemnly to observe all the duties that a monarch can owe to his people ; namely, to govern according to law ; to execute judgment in mercy ; and *to maintain the Established Religion.*"

Nay more. " With respect to the last named of these three branches of monarchical duty the law makes the most anxious provision. For, *First.* By the Bill of Rights, 1 William & Mary, statute II. c. 2., and the Act of Settlement, 12 & 13 William III., c. 2., every king and queen of the age of twelve years either at their coronation, or on the first day of the First Parliament. which shall first happen, upon the throne in the House of Peers, shall repeat and subscribe the declaration against popery, according to 30 Car. II., statute II., c. 1. *Secondly.* It is provided by the Act of Union with Scotland, 5 Anne, c. 8. —in which two former acts are recited and confirmed,— that every king or queen at his or her accession shall take and subscribe an oath, to preserve the Protestant religion, and Presbyterian Church Government in Scotland ;—and that every such king or queen shall at his or her coronation take and subscribe a similar oath to preserve the settlement of the Church of England within England,

Ireland, Wales, and Berwick, and the territories thereunto belonging.

Now, from such facts and statutes as these, it is indubitably manifest that no monarch of these realms has the power as such to yield assent to any measure, which in its design and effect is in direct contravention of those most solemn oaths upon the observation of which the very tenure of the crown has been conditioned.

The Revolution of 1688 expressly established the existence of a contract between king and people, the terms of which contract are definitively laid down in the *Coronation Oath*. Should the monarch, therefore, so far exceed the limits there placed upon his or her prerogative, as to declare assent to any measure tending to disturb, rather than "preserve the settlement of the Church of England"—then such monarch would in virtue of such breach of contract forfeit all right and title to the throne. Such assent would in the eye of the law be of the same effect as an abdication of the royal functions. From that moment forth the throne would *ipso facto* be, and remain vacant, until another Convention should declare a successor. For, it is the grand principle of the Revolution of 1688, that the Sovereign of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland shall be empowered to hold and retain the ecclesiastical and temporal supremacy of these realms, only on condition of his professing the doctrine, worship, and discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church,—of his maintaining the same as the Church Established—and

of his "preserving to the Bishops and Clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such *rights* and *privileges* as *by law* do or shall appertain to them, or any of them." *

Such, then being the case, it is incontestably and irrefutably demonstrated that anti-state church legislation is anti-constitutional. Politically considered it is impracticable. Its consummation is compatible only on condition of the total disruption and dismemberment of the social fabric. It is the fashion to talk of bloodless revolutions. But that will, if we mistake not, be no bloodless revolution, which democratic Dissenters, Papists, and Infidels are toiling with might and main to carry to its height and climax. Whatever some may have to say to the contrary, one thing is certain that England is upon the eve of a mighty political and religious crisis. Dissent has gone back to its old locus standi of the seventeenth century. It is no longer allied with the friends of order. It is no longer loyal either in principle or practice. It is no longer faithful to the British constitution. For, with the accession to itself of political power, there has passed over it a viler than Batrachian metamorphosis.

Towards true conscientious religious Dissenters, as such, we entertain, though differing from them, the measure of respect which is their due. But that race is now well nigh extinct. For, since Dissent has acquired the

* Coronation Oath, Q. 4, and 5 Anne, c. 8.

completest toleration—the fullest measure of civil and religious liberty—it has changed its suppliant tones for those of imperious and arrogant defiance.

Dissent has declared its policy. "We want," and to cite the words of the *Liberator*, an organ of the Liberation Society, "*intend ultimately to have religious equality;*" but, "*we expect to get it by a series of instalments* and *not* by a *coup de main.*" But this, "*religious equality*" can never be realized except by the subversion both of church and state. Are they not striving strenuously and fiercely to swamp the intelligence and capital *of the country by the blind force of the multitude,*—knowing, as they do, that if they can only disturb the present distribution of political power—if they can only give to the masses political preponderancy—that, in a word, if they can only revolutionize the House of Commons,—their ulterior designs—their anarchical devices will then be facile of accomplishment.

The real aim of dissent is therefore the overthrow and downfal of the constitution. These fast and loose reformers would sweep away every vestige of it. They hate the church. They hate the aristocracy:—perhaps also the crown. They pretend that the "means" to which they have and will have resort shall be "moral and constitutional only." But the trick is *too* transparent.

Is it "moral and constitutional" to aim at the annihilation of any one of the three Estates of the realm? Is it "moral and constitutional" to pester and tease the Commons with Quixotic measures which according to the

law and custom of parliament can only properly originate in the House of Peers? Is it "moral," not to say "constitutional" to aim at the alienation and secularization of the property of the church? Is it honest to talk of handing over the cathedrals to the municipal authorities? Can parliament make spoliation a virtue? Could it have sanctified the Vandalism of the "Appropriation Clause?" Is it "moral and constitutional" contemptuously to deny the ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown? Is it "moral and constitutional" to seek the expunction from our legislation of acts, which have been hitherto guarded and defended as securities against the infringement of the liberties of the people? Is it right, or "moral," or "constitutional," to seek by act of parliament to compel the sovereign to a deed of perjury only a shade less atrocious than that which every anti-state church M.P. must calmly and deliberately perpetrate, ere he can enact his own treacherous part in the dark plot of religious equalization? * Is it "moral and constitutional," we demand, to

* It ought ever be remembered that,—when in 1828, the civil disabilities imposed by the Test and Corporation Acts were finally removed—and removed, be it observed by Churchmen only, such as Canning, Wellington, and Peel,—"*for the security of the predominancy of the Established Church,*"—Sir Robert Peel insisted upon the following declaration being substituted for all persons holding office under the Crown, and for municipal functionaries :—

"I, A. B., do solemnly and sincerely in the presence of God profess, testify, and declare, upon the true faith of a Christian, that I will never exercise any power, authority, or influence which I may possess by virtue of the office of————————to injure or

aim at the dissolution of the empire? To work steadily

weaken the Protestant Church, as it is by law established in England, or to disturb the said Church or the Bishops, and the Clergy of the said Church, in the possession of any rights or privileges to which such Church, or the said Bishops and Clergy are, or may be, by law entitled."

This, be it remembered, is the Declaration which every mayor, alderman, magistrate, and crown officer of whatever rank, who subscribes to the Liberation Society, has made solemnly "in the presence of God" and "upon the faith of a Christian." And how are they keeping this, which is for all practical purposes, a solemn oath? How are such gentlemen keeping it as the Right Honourable T. M. Gibson, M.P., Mr. Stansfield, late Junior Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Charles Gilpin, late secretary to the Poor Law Commissioners, all of whom are members of Mr. Edward Miall's, anti-state-church, and we may add, anti-constitutionalist Association?

But more, Romanists, Quakers, and Separatists, or Dissenters generally, are engaged in this vile conspiracy against the Church, the Crown, the Aristocracy. And yet, note what are the Oaths and Affirmations, which must have been made, ere such men as Mr. Hadfield, Sir. M. Peto, Mr. Baines, Mr. Dodson, Mr. Bouverie, Sir Frank Crossley, Mr. Dillwyn, Sir J. Trelawney, Mr. Bright, and the whole Liberation armada with its Irish, Chartist, and Infidel brigades, could have marshalled its forces on the arena of the House of Commons.

Observe, we say, the Oaths and Affirmations which these gentlemen have deliberately and solemnly made, before taking their seats as representatives of the people.

Oath to be taken by Roman Catholics.

"I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance, to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and will defend her to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatever, which shall be made against her person, crown,

and persistently towards a goal, which can only be reached

or dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, all treasons, and traitorous conspiracies which may be formed against her or them. And I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend, to the utmost of my power, the succession of the crown, which succession, by an Act, entitled, 'An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject,' is and stands limited to the Princess Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants; hereby utterly renouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegiance unto any other person claiming or pretending a right to the crown of this realm. And further I do declare, that it is not an article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion, that princes excommunicate or deprived by the Pope, or any other authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any person whatsoever. And I do declare, that I do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any foreign prince, prelate, person, state or potentate, hath or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly, or indirectly, within this realm. I do swear, that I will defend to the utmost of my power the settlement of property within this realm, as established by the laws. And I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment as settled by law within this realm. And I do solemnly swear, that I never will exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion, or Protestant government in the United Kingdom. And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever. So help me God."

The Affirmation of Quakers, Moravians, Separatists, and persons who have ceased to be Quakers or Moravians.

"I, A. B., do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to Queen Victoria,

by trampling under foot the Acts of Union—the Act of Uniformity—the Bill of Rights—the Act of Settlement—the Act of Limitation—the Magna Carta—the Coronation Oath, and all that is most precious and invaluable in the whole past legislation of the land? Are these we demand, evidences of loyalty and constitutionalism.

Because if not,—then let churchmen, and constitutionalists, and all true patriots and citizens beware. For this mighty conspiracy has already mounted up to fearful and portentous proportions. "It is no fancy of a 'heart-oppressed brain,' but a serious, sober, literal truth, that a revolutionary propaganda exists in this country; that its ramifications extend to every corner of the United Kingdom; that it holds communication with all the revolutionary elements of the European continent; and that the end

and to her will be faithful against all conspiracies and attempts whatever, which shall be made against her person, crown, or dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose, make known to Queen Victoria, her heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which I shall know to be formed against her or them. And I will be true and faithful to the succession of the crown, which succession, by an Act, entitled, 'An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject,' is and stands limited to the Princess Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants; hereby utterly renouncing and refusing any obedience or allegiance unto any other person, claiming or pretending a right to the crown of this realm. And I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual within this realm."

sought is the establishment of a Democracy upon the ruins of the British Constitution."*

And such being the case, what is to be done? Shall the clergy of the United Church sit with folded arms until the fatal mischief has been irretrievably accomplished? Who is it that says it is their only and sole duty to watch for souls? For whoever he may be—he is fit only for the mysticism of a Moravian settlement. This is an age in which Christian character must be many sided. Only they who will work—and work vigorously as citizens not less than as clergy are fit for the offices they hold. Too many exemplify in their political capacity a description contained in Parnell's Allegory on Man.

> "The man rose staring, like a stake;
> Wondering to see himself awake!
> Then looked so wise, before he knew
> The business he was made to do."

The fact is that in an all-wise Providence, the clergy of the Established Church possess a mighty political influence. That influence is theirs as a solemn and sacred trust. It is a precious "talent." Shall it be buried in a napkin—the napkin of a treacherous security—the napkin of self-indulgence—the napkin of apathy—of stolid, nay of criminal indifference? God forbid. The time is soon coming—if it is not already close upon us, when every

* *Dissent and Democracy*—by *Richard Masheder, Esq., B.A., of the Inner Temple*, p. 378.—(Saunders and Otley.)

man will need be at his post, armed and equipped for a struggle perhaps as intense and as momentous as any which this nation has ever yet been called upon to witness? Political Jesuits are everywhere on the alert. They are in the House of Commons—upon the judicial bench,—in our municipal and other corporations. Keen,—farsighted,—vigilant,—they are already gone far towards the realization of their treasonous ambitions—their revolutionary reforms. And shall there be no adequate effort made on the part of the church, as yet, thank God, left in possession of of most of her ancient and hereditary rights! Has the Church of England no instincts of self-preservation—not to name principles of duty towards God and towards the body-politic? Where is there a churchman that will any longer remain unidentified with Church-Defence? Where is there a clergyman—who under plea of religious duties, can neglect the next most important duties of this lower life—the duties which he owes to his fatherland and his queen? Where is there a bishop, a dean, a vicar, an incumbent, or even a curate, who, knowing the nature of the times upon which God has cast his lot, can fail to make every exertion in his power to deliver the church and the constitution from the oblique patriotism of men, now no longer impotent for mischief? A clergyman or layman who is not deeply implicated in the safe issue of the National Church from the already impending politico-religious struggle must be pitiably and miserably unaware of the "signs of the times." "England expects every man to do his duty." The clergy, considered merely as citizens, owe a duty to the state:—and never, until they

have stood up manfully and courageously, with one heart and with one voice, in the defence of the protestant safeguards of the nation,—the rights of the church,—the privileges of the aristocracy,—the principles of the constitution,—the securities of the empire,—and the foundations of the throne;—can they be considered to have proved faithful to those political responsibilities which in their place are not—than the duties of religion in one single degree, less solemn, less momentous, or less imperative.

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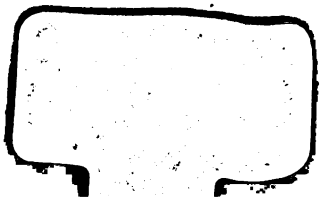
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